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BY

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PREFACE.

This historical study was undertaken for the purpose of forming a correct estimate of the character of one of the most interesting leaders in the English Commonwealth, of ascertaining the nature and value of his service in the struggle for freedom of conscience in England and New England, and more particularly of setting forth his important and exceedingly helpful relation to Rhode Island and his claim upon the lasting gratitude of its people. Few lives have a greater fascination for the student of English and Colonial history than the life of Sir Henry Vane, Jr. Born of a noble family, early catching the spirit of Puritanism, surrendering position and prospects out of love for the truth and the rights and liberties of the people, laboring unweariedly, self-sacrificingly, courageously, for the cause which he had espoused, leaving the impress of his influence

upon Old England and New England and linking them together as no other man of that period did, the intimate friend and coadjutor of Oliver Cromwell, and yet daring to oppose and resist him when he believed him to be wrong, and patiently suffering the consequences of such resistance, and finally in the prime of life unrighteously condemned and cruelly executed by the treachery of Charles II, Vane's portrait stands out amid the smoke, the confusion, the strife of his time, calm, serene, consistent, heroic. If this little book shall help to make one who has been to many only a name, a living reality, and a vital force in the upward struggle of humanity, the author will be fully compensated.

The substance of the book was presented in a paper read in Boston at the mid-winter meeting of the Backus Historical Society, January 18, 1909, and read also in Providence at a regular meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society, February 9, 1909. Such added material is now included, in what is still only a monograph making no pretension to a full biography, as

will give, it is hoped, a clear and intelligible portrait of Vane and a true account of his connection with the greatest movement in modern history.

HENRY MELVILLE KING.

Providence, August, 1909.

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SIR HENRY VANE, Jr.

SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND SERVICE

"The name of Henry Vane is remembered as one of the founders of the State of Rhode Island." This statement is made by Dr. William W. Ireland, an English author, in his "Life of Sir Henry Vane, the Younger," published in 1906. This able and exceedingly interesting volume was written not only to present a fresh review of the great events leading up to, and characterizing, the English Commonwealth, but professedly to make amends for the neglect by English historians of the life and career of this eminent states-

man. Dr Ireland says in the concluding paragraph of his preface: "It is not to the credit of England that she has done so little honour to Sir Henry Vane compared with the appreciation of the historians of the United States. The people of the Great Republic have not forgotten the help Vane gave in the foundation of the colonies of New England. Yet the claims of justice have increasing strength in the present age, and the memory of Sir Henry Vane has claims which will yet be more fully recognized."

The purpose of this biographical sketch is to portray briefly Vane's conspicuous career under the English Protectorate, to give an account of his connection with the Massachusetts Bay and its sudden termination, and in particular, to determine how far he may

be justly called "one of the founders of the State of Rhode Island."

Vane was born in 1612, near the beginning of one of the most stirring and eventful centuries in English history. He came of an old and prominent family, whose line could be distinctly traced for sixteen generations, and whose members bore a conspicuous part in the history of the times in which they lived. It is believed to have been of Welsh origin, the first known ancestor bearing the name of Howell ap Vane of Monmouthshire, before the Conquest. His son, Griffith ap Howell Vane, is said to have married the daughter of Blodwin ap Kenwyn, Lord of Powis. The English home of the family subsequently was in the county of Kent. The name is sometimes spelt "Fane," and the given name, Henry or

Harry, is not infrequent in the family line.

In 1356, at Poictiers, when the French King John was taken prisoner by the Black Prince, a Harry Vane especially distinguished himself upon the field of battle, and received from the monarch his right-hand gauntlet in token of surrender. He was knighted on the field by his sovereign, and a "dexter gauntlet" appears as a crest on the Vane family coat of arms. Seven generations later another Sir Henry Vane was implicated in the insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who aroused Kent against Bloody Mary. Though the instigator of the insurrection was executed, Vane escaped on account of his youth. He was a member of Parliament in the reign of Elizabeth, and was the great-grandfather of the Sir

Henry, Jr., who is the subject of this sketch. It is worthy of note that the same courage, independence, loyalty to conviction, and self-sacrificing opposition to arbitrary power have been displayed by members of the family down to a very recent date.

The father of our Sir Henry, Sir Henry, Senior, or "old Sir Henry," as he is wont to be called, both father and son having been simultaneously prominent in public affairs, was born in 1589, married Frances, daughter of Thomas Darcy of Tollhurst-Darcy, and thus connected himself with an old Essex family, was knighted by James I, at the age of twenty-two, either by purchase or by favor, and was twenty-three years old at the birth of his namesake. He was appointed cofferer or treasurer to Prince Charles, and was

retained in the office after Charles ascended the throne. He was not in favor with Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterward Earl of Strafford, privy councillor, President of the North, and Lord Deputy for Ireland, of whom it is said that he was first "a patriot" and then "an apostate," eaten up with ambition, turning against his political friends, becoming a servile tool of the King and preceding his master to the scaffold by eight years.* But he was in favor

*Extract from Browning's Strafford.

Pym.

"Then I believe,
Spite of the past, Wentworth rejoins you, friends."

Vane and Others.

"Wentworth? Apostate. Judas. Double-dyed.
A traitor. Is it Pym, indeed" * * *

Pym.

"Who says
Vane never knew that Wentworth, loved that man,
Was used to stroll with him, arm locked in arm,
Along the streets to see the people pass,

with Queen Henrietta Maria, probably through the influence of Lady Vane, combined with the Queen's hatred of Wentworth. He was a member of Parliament from 1614, when he entered it at the age of twenty-five, until the time of his death in 1654, with few intermissions. Through the favor of the Queen, and undoubtedly by reason

> And read in every island-countenance
> Fresh argument for God against the King,—
> Never sat down, say, in the very house
> Where Eliot's brow grew broad with noble thoughts
> And then left talking over Grachus' death."
> * * * ."

Vane.

> "To frame, we know it well, the choisest clause
> In the Petition of Right: he framed such clause
> One month before he took at the King's hand
> His Northern Presidency, which that Bill denounced."

Pym.

> "Too true. Never more, never more
> Walked we together. Most alone I went.
> I have had friends—all here are fast my friends—
> But I shall never quite forget that friend."

of his recognized ability and fidelity, many honors came to him, and he was called to fill many positions of great responsibility, both at home and abroad. He was not only connected officially with the royal household, but he was a member of the Privy Council, and his name was attached to many of the cruel decisions of the infamous Star Chamber. In 1631 he was sent as ambassador to Christian IV of Denmark, and afterward to the Court of Gustavus Adolphus, the leading diplomatic position of his age. He twice entertained the King and his retinue in magnificent state at Raby Castle, which he had recently purchased, the first time when the King was journeying to Scotland to his public coronation. As courtier and diplomatist he was most successful, a man of acknowledged in-

fluence and marked ability, though as Dr. Ireland says, "he had neither the unswerving rectitude nor the great abilities of his gifted son."

Into this exceptional inheritance was young Vane born, a distinguished ancestry, unbounded wealth, great political influence, and unlimited royal favor. Certainly not a very hopeful soil for the germination and development of republican and Puritan principles!

But influences were at work other and mightier than those of family and of Court. It is not necessary to trace them to their origin or in their slow and sometimes uncertain growth. But in England in the first half of the seventeenth century the breath of liberty was in the air. The oppressions of the throne had become numerous and burdensome. Magna Charta, with its

measure of freedom, had been virtually ignored. Royal pledges were made only to be broken, indeed apparently with no intention of being kept. Forced loans were demanded and crushing subsidies against the will and remonstrance of Parliament and the increasing resistance of the people. The liberties and lives of the people, as well as their properties, seemed to be under the control of the King, and could be sacrificed at his pleasure. The rights of the people were beginning to assert themselves, and men were discussing, in Parliament and out of it, the meaning, and the seat, and the limitations of sovereignty. The famous Petition of Rights was presented in the House of Commons for the purpose of declaring the prerogatives and liberties of Parliament, and protesting against their

infringement. Hampden and Pym were its foremost advocates. Legal power was one thing, and that they were willing to accord to the King; but regal power was another thing, if it meant unlimited sovereignty, and that the Commons disputed, and would have none of. Pym declared: "All our petition is for the laws of England, and this power seems to be another power distinct from the power of the law. I know how to add sovereign to the King's person, but not to his power, for he has never possessed it." Some brave men were daring to call in question the divine right of Kings, and some braver ones were dreaming of constitutional liberty and the sovereignty of the people. Browning, in his drama on the "Earl of Strafford," makes Pym say: "The People or the King? and that King, Charles!"

But there was another influence which had already become a positive force in certain quarters of English society, not yet receiving much recognition in courtly circles, but demanding unheard-of rights and liberties for the people, viz., Puritanism. This was the logical and legitimate fruit of the Reformation, in which, in its essential features the great Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, on both sides of the channel, would have splendidly culminated, had it not been arrested in its development. The Reformation in England had suffered a temporary setback under the reign of Catholic Queen Mary, but was again rapidly moving forward.* Milton be-

*"Henry VIII having quarreled with Rome about a question of discipline, not of doctrine, left England legally separated from the Holy See, but not reformed.

lieved, according to Professor Masson, "that the European Reformation, begun by Luther, had been arrested in England at a point far less advanced than that which it had reached in other countries, and that in consequence, England had ever since been suffering, and struggling, and incapacitated, as by a load of nightmare only half thrown

A Protestant confession of faith was given to her by Edward VI, but taken away again by Mary Tudor, who restored the Roman Catholic religion by force. Elizabeth, who found herself between the rural districts which were Catholic, and the towns which were Protestant, took refuge in a compromise Anglicanism, based on episcopacy and on the royal supremacy. Her Church was a broad one as regarded individual belief, but narrow as regarded the form of worship. This compromise was not accepted by rigid Protestants, who were for the most part Calvinists, and who soon obtained the significant name of Puritans. Thus began that obstinate opposition which was one day to shatter the monarchy."

Charles Borgeaud's "*The Rise of Modern Democracy*," pp. 11, 12.

off, for the full and free exercise of her splendid gift."

Puritanism was not something foreign and separate from civil liberty. It was its accompaniment, aye, its inspiration, and its strength. It was a demand for freedom in religious matters. It acknowledged the authority in matters of faith of no church, or council, or government, priestly or national, that is, when Puritanism was the pure, fully-ripened article. It insisted that Christ alone was on the throne, and that all human authority was distributed equally among the sovereign people. It repudiated all union between Church and State as unholy, and protested against the State interfering in matters of religion by prescribing government or ritual, by the enactment of law or the infliction of penalty.

Moreover, it emphasized the spiritual nature of religion, declaring that it was not a matter of outward form or ceremony, but vital fellowship of the soul with God, the Infinite Spirit. In a word, Puritanism, to use a phrase with which our ears are somewhat familiar, was soul-liberty, the liberty of the individual soul to think, to obey, to worship, to order its life for itself, knowing no guide but the Word of God to which it bowed, and no law but the enlightened conscience.

Of course Puritanism made a new party or parties, for it existed in different degrees, and increased the divisions among the people, and intensified the discussions, already heated enough, and made union of sentiment and action to accomplish any purpose for home and country seem an utter impossibility.

There were Roman Catholics and Church of England adherents and Presbyterians, none of whom had any conception of religious liberty, and all of whom when possessing the power, used it oppressively; Royalists and Parliamentarians, Non-Conformists, and Partial Conformists, and Quakers; Independents, who were divided between Brownists and Baptists; and Puritans, some of whom desired liberty simply for themselves, while others had reached the status of out-and-out Separatists or Pilgrims, for Puritanism, like Democracy, was a growth, not a fiat.

With no harmony in their views of civil liberty, and were it possible, still less in their views of religious liberty, how could they live together within the narrow boundaries of a single island-

empire? Indeed, four years before young Henry Vane was born, a group of religious dissenters had escaped across the English channel in search of a larger freedom, and eight years after he was born they re-embarked and turned the prow of their frail ship westward across the wide ocean, seeking in an unexplored and boundless continent room to breathe the free air of liberty for which their souls longed. Again, ten years later still, when young Vane was three years from his majority, another and larger contingent of his fellow countrymen, of whose departure he must have known, impelled by the oppressive measures of those in authority in Church and State, and by a desire for liberty and self-government, left old England and found their way across the sea, to found here a Puritan

Commonwealth.* Neither they nor he, in their wildest imaginings, could have thought that in six years the son of a Privy Councillor and an official of the royal household, would be elected to

*"Crowds of victims to the tyranny of Church and State now accordingly left their homes and their country, willing to encounter any sufferings, privations, and dangers in the distant wilderness they sought, because of the one sole hope they had, that there, at least, would be found some rest and refuge for liberty, for religion, for humanity.

So extensive, however, did the emigration threaten to become, that Laud thought it necessary to interfere at last, and—with a refinement of tyranny of which, it has been truly said, the annals of persecution afford few equally strong examples—to seek to deprive the conscientious sufferers of that last and most melancholy of all resources, a rude, and distant, and perpetual exile. On the 1st of May, 1638, eight ships bound for New England, and filled with Puritan families, were arrested in the Thames by an order in Council. It has been a very popular 'rumour of history' that among the passengers in one of those vessels were Pym, Hampden, Cromwell, and Hazelrig." Statesmen of the Commonwealth, by John Forster, p. 161. Mr. Forster adds "There is no good authority for it, and it is deficient in all the moral evidences of truth."

be the Governor of the new Colony.

Into this wide-spread and deep-seated political unrest, portentous of coming beheadings and bloody civil war, into these longings for a larger liberty and conflicting and chaotic views of how it could be brought about, into these dissensions and jealousies about church polity and religious doctrine and rite, always passionate, often acrimonious, not infrequently determining men's political plans and creating suspicions of each other's motives, into this confusion of opposing forces the younger Vane was born. Which forces will prevail in shaping his character, determining his life-associations, and guiding his career?

The boyhood of Vane was such as to excite great expectations in the mind of his father. His irrepressible life and

early maturity gave promise, under proper training, of political preferment and distinguished public service in behalf of the King and the glory of his reign. At the age of fifteen we find him at Westminster School, with Lambert Osbaldestone for his master, and among his companions were Thomas Scott and Arthur Haselrige, both of whom were to be heard from later in the national councils. At about sixteen years of age, says Anthony Wood, in *Athenæ Oxonienses*, "Vane became a gentleman commoner at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, as his great creature, Henry Stubbe, hath several times informed me; but when he was to be matriculated as a member of the university, and so consequently take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, he quitted his Athenæ gown, put on a cloak, and

studied notwithstanding in the same hall." This act indicated a spirit of rebellion against constituted authority and sacred custom. His stay at Magdalen was brief. Something had evidently come over the spirit of the youth, and produced a momentous change in the plans which his parents and friends had formed for him, and which undoubtedly he had formed for himself. Some force outside of the influence of his family and the royal court had struck him, and turned him from the prescribed track, and given him a new vision of life and duty. That force can best be defined, and that change described, in his own language. In a review of his life in after years Vane said: "I was born a gentleman, had the education, temper and spirit of a gentleman as well as others,

being in my youthful days inclined to the vanities of this world, and to that which they call good fellowship, judging it to be the only way of accomplishing a gentleman; but about the fourteenth or fifteenth year of my age, which was about thirty-four or five years since, God was gracious to lay the foundation or ground-work of a repentance for me in the bringing of me home to Himself, by His wonderful rich and free grace, revealing His Son in me, that by the knowledge of the only true God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent, I might, even while here in the body, be made partaker of eternal life in the first fruits of it."

That is the spirit and language of Puritanism. The language reminds us of the language of Roger Williams, whom Ambassador Bryce calls "an

orthodox Puritan," and whom Vane was afterwards to know most intimately, which he employed to describe a spiritual change which came to him at about the same period of his life: "From my childhood, now about three score years, [this was written when he was about seventy-five years old] the Father of lights and mercies touched my soul with a love for Himself, to his only-begotten, the true Lord Jesus, and to his Holy Scriptures."

Vane had caught somewhere the unfashionable and despised spirit of Puritanism, and passed through its initial experience, and was to become, not the fashionable gentleman of the period, and the obsequious courtier of the King, and the representative of his ambitious and treacherous diplomacy, but a loyal subject of Jesus Christ, a citizen

of the kingdom of God on earth, and a fearless advocate of the rights and liberties of men in two hemispheres. That experience was his first point of contact with Roger Williams, though probably as yet unknown personally, and brought him into a sympathetic relationship which was afterwards to ripen into the truest and most helpful friendship.

It is needless to inquire where or how young Vane imbibed this spirit. It is evermore true that "the wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth." The spirit of Puritanism, like the spirit of liberty, was in the air, and souls that were susceptible of its influence, caught the divine infection. His friend and biographer, George

Sikes, a Bachelor in Divinity and Fellow of Magdalen College, using the language of an inspired historian of an earlier Puritan, says of Vane: "He was a chosen vessel of Christ, separated (as Paul) from his mother's womb, though not actually called till fourteen or fifteen years' standing in the world, ('twas longer ere Paul was called), during which time such was the complexion and constitution of his spirit, through ignorance of God and his ways, as rendered him acceptable company to those they call good fellows. * * * Then God did, by some signal impressions and awakening dispensations, startle him into a view of the danger of his condition. On this he and his former jolly company came presently to a parting blow. Yea, this change and new steering of his course con-

tracted enmity to him in his father's house.—Matt. 10: 36, 37." We shall do well probably to accept the interpretation of Mr. Sikes, and leave it there.

That the change in young Vane and the new trend of his life were a great disappointment to the father's worldly and ambitious hopes, and exceedingly objectionable to him, goes without saying. He took every opportunity to express his disapproval and every method to exorcise the supposedly evil and harmful spirit. He sent his son to France to study its language and philosophy, and to Vienna in the train of the English ambassador, where he was entrusted with important state secrets, though but nineteen years old. He kept up a constant correspondence with his father, partly in French and

partly in cipher, confessing a lack of sympathy with the questions that were shaking the nations of Europe at that time, and arraying them in bloody and protracted war against each other, but always respectful in tone, and expressing regret and sorrow that he must disappoint his father "apres tant de soin et d'espence que vous eues employez sur moy." It is believed by some students that he spent some portion of his absence in Geneva, though if he did, his new convictions could hardly have been weakened in the strong Protestant atmosphere of that Swiss city, which one writer has relieved himself by characterizing as "sulphurously pungent with the fumes of a grim theology."

Young Vane returned to England in the spring of 1632, bearing important

dispatches from his father, who, at that time was ambassador to the court of Sweden, to King Charles, and delivered them in person. In deference to his father's wishes, he seems at first to have sought some official appointment. But the condition of England was more distressing than ever. The third Parliament of Charles I had been dissolved three years before, because it would not yield to the King's demands in the matter of subsidies. Sir John Eliot had been sent to the Tower, whose political views found expression in the memorable utterance: "None have gone about to break Parliaments, but in the end Parliaments have broken them." He died November 27, 1632, of consumption, brought on by nearly four years of inhuman treatment within prison walls. Freedom of speech and

of the press was interdicted. No book could be published or put on sale without the approval of the Bishop of London or the Archbishop of Canterbury. Charles and Laud were carrying things with a high hand. Charles had been on the throne seven years, and was already exhibiting that "whimsical contradictoriness," which, as Peter Bayne says, drives the student of his character to despair. He does not hesitate to call him "a faithful betrayer, an ingenious bungler, a foolhardy coward, an affectionate torturer, a cunning simpleton, a subtle fool, a religious liar," "the vacillating yet self-willed, the weak yet tyrannical, tortuous, ever plotting, slippery Charles." And Laud was his evil genius. The friends of liberty were discouraged, and the Puritan aristocrat found himself ut-

terly out of sympathy with the things around him, both in Church and State. The breach widened from month to month. He became more outspoken in his views, attracting the attention of men prominent in his social circle, and exciting the alarm of his father, who loved him, and still hoped to reclaim him from his wanderings which he was unable to understand. He sought to introduce him to an interview with the King, thinking that the royal presence would awe or charm him into a submissive loyalty. But the young man hid himself behind the draperies before the King entered the room, where the contemplated interview was to be had. The father then committed him to the convincing persuasions and tender mercies of Bishop Laud, soon to become Archbishop of Canterbury and

the terror of Puritan unbelievers, hoping thereby to convince the young upstart of his heresies, and cause him to renounce them. But the narrow prelate was no match for the clear-headed and broadening liberal. Bishop and King were alike unsuccessful. The father despaired of winning back his son to his inherited beliefs, and to the son life in England became intolerable. At length he announced to his father his purpose to follow the Puritans across the sea to the new world of liberty and light. The father consented reluctantly, and the King willingly, glad to be rid of a subject so incorrigible, and who might become dangerous.

Two contemporary utterances have come down to us, which disclose the judgment of the time at his decision.

"The Comptroller Sir Henry Vane's eldest son hath left his father, his mother, his country, and that fortune which his father would have left him here, and is, for conscience' sake, gone into New England to lead the rest of his days. * * * I hear that Sir Nathaniel Rich and Mr. Pym have done him much hurt in their persuasions this way. God forgive them for it, if they be guilty."

The second utterance which has been preserved is as follows: "Sir Henry Vane also hath as good as lost his eldest son, who is gone into New England for conscience' sake; he likes not the discipline of the Church of England; none of our ministers would give him the sacrament standing; no persuasions of our Bishops nor authority of his parents could prevail with him; let him go."

Before young Henry left home for the new world, which was then very new, he wrote a farewell letter to his father, which not only discloses the deep sincerity and conscientiousness of his spirit, but is ample evidence that he was not wanting in filial respect and affection, a letter which we are not surprised to have one of his biographers say is "in a handwriting tremulous in some places, as under deep emotion."

"And, Sir, believe this from one that hath the honor to be your son (though as the case stands, adjudged a most unworthy one), that howsomever you may be jealous of circumventions and plots that I entertain and practice, yet that I will never do anything (by God's good grace) which both with honor and a good conscience I may not justify, or be content most willingly to suffer for. And were it not that I am very confident that as surely as there is

truth in God, so surely shall my innocency and integrity be cleared to you before you die, I protest to you ingenuously that the jealousy you have of me would break my heart. But as I submit all other things to the disposal of my good God, so do I my honesty among the rest; and though I must confess I am compassed about with many infirmities, and am but too great a blemish to the religion I profess, yet the bent and intention of my heart I am sure is sincere, and from hence flows the sweet peace I enjoy with my God amidst these many and heavy trials which now fall upon me and attend me; this is my only support in my losses of all other things; and this I doubt not of but that I have an all-sufficient God able to protect me, and who in His due time will do it, and that in the eyes of all my friends.

Your most truly humble and obedient Son,

H. Vane.

Cherring Cross, this 7th of July, 1635."

In later years Vane described the motives which influenced him in leaving home, and estate, and friends, and prospects, for the perils and deprivations of the New World, in these words: "Since my early youth, through grace, I have been kept steadfast, desiring to walk in all good conscience towards God and towards man, according to the best light and understanding God gave me. For this I was willing to turn my back upon my estate; expose myself to hazards in foreign parts; yet nothing seemed difficult to me, so I might preserve faith and a good conscience, which I prefer above all things." These are not the words of a wayward prodigal who demands "Give me the portion of goods that falleth to me," before he takes his journey into a far country, or of an unbalanced enthusiast, who

throws himself recklessly into a cause without understanding its merits or its issues, but of a calm, level-headed, conscientious man, who loved God and his fellow men, and who believed that God had given him light and a divine mission, to which he must be loyal at whatever sacrifice to himself.

Vane reached Boston, October 6, 1635, in the ship "Abigail." Two of his fellow passengers were John Winthrop, Jr., who became Governor of the Connecticut Colony, and Rev. Hugh Peters, who became the minister in Salem, taking the place vacated by Roger Williams when he was compelled to flee, and who after a brief residence in America returned to England, and became chaplain of Oliver Cromwell. Vane's arrival was hailed with great rejoicing by the Massa-

chusetts Colonists, the most of whom were of comparatively humble estate, and whose hearts were elated by the presence of the representative of a noble family, high in the favor of the Court, who had, out of conscientious conviction and sympathy of views, surrendered the most exalted social position and the most flattering prospects to cast in his lot with those who were living in voluntary exile and in primitive simplicity, not to say in circumstances sometimes of painful discomfort. The town had been settled only five years before. Their houses were little more than huts, poorly protected against the severity of the New England climate. Their streets were winding paths, some of which Boston has never been able to straighten. Their resources and supplies were of the

most meager kind. They had no educational and few social advantages. Their only comfort was that they were in the path of duty, which as yet did not open very far into the future, that they had found a place of liberty which as yet was little understood and defined even by the wisest of them,* that they had been drawn together

* "By law the civil government was distinct from the ecclesiastical, but in fact it was strictly subordinate to it. Owing to their moral influence, the pastors and elders formed a sort of Council of Ephors; no important decision was arrived at without their consent. They spoke in the name of the Divine Will revealed in the Bible, and their sentence could only be appealed against by calling in question their interpretation.

'When a Commonwealth hath liberty to mould its own frame (*Scripturæ plenitudinem adoro*), I conceive,' writes Cotton, 'the Scripture hath given full direction for the right ordering of the same. It is better that the Commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth of God's house, which is his Church, than to accommodate the Church's frame to the civil State.'

Thus was founded the theocratic Commonwealth of Massachusetts, with none like it to be found in history, except the Republic of Calvin; like it, brave, austere,

and drawn across the ocean by a unanimity of conviction which proved to be not so unanimous after all; and possibly in the memory of the pleasant homes and the more abundant life which they had enjoyed in the old world. The following lines were written by John Cotton, who had been Fellow and Dean of Emmanuel College, rector of the beautiful St. Botolph's church in Boston, in Lincolnshire, had wielded a great influence as a Churchman and then as a Non-Conformist, but who came to the Boston in the Massachusetts Bay in 1633 to be one of the pastors of its church, for as Prof. James K. Hosmer says, in his "Life of Young Sir Henry Vane," "the New England

but intolerant of inquiry, persecuting heresy without pity, and without mercy."

Charles Borgeaud's "*The Rise of Modern Democracy*," pp. 148, 149.

pulpits from which such constant cannonading was demanded, were of necessity double-barrelled." These are Cotton's lines:

"When I think of the sweet and gracious company
That in Boston once I had,
And of the long peace of a fruitful ministry
For twenty years enjoyéd,
The joy that I found in all that happiness
Doth still so much refresh me,
That the grief to be cast out into a wilderness
Doth not so much distress me."

Surely it does not seem a very enviable condition, when a man's chief and assuaging joy is found in the memory of the brighter and happier condition which he has sacrificed. Cotton's experience seems a contradiction of Dante's familiar sentiment: "A

sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things."

How much correspondence young Vane may have had, if any, with the Colonists of the Massachusetts Bay, before leaving England, and how well informed he may have been as to their mode of life, and their social and political affairs, we have no means of knowing. But it is safe to say that after his arrival he had many things to learn, and that in some things he was bitterly disappointed. He reached Boston in troublous times, as if any of those early Puritan times were not troublous. The date of his arrival was, as has been said, October 6, 1635. This was in the very midst of the Roger Williams controversy, in which the whole question of religious liberty was involved, and in which the Bay was agitated from

center to circumference. Already Roger Williams had been summoned twice to appear before the General Court to answer to the charges brought against him. The next session of the Court, to which the third summons was issued, occurred in that very month of October, "all the ministers in the Bay being desired to be present." Mr. Hooker was chosen to dispute with him. It was an open discussion, probably taking place the last of the month or the first of November, in which both sides of the case were fully presented, and the views of Mr. Williams and his accusers were clearly announced and enforced. The gravamen of the charges, put in briefest form, was that Mr. Williams maintained that "the civil power has no jurisdiction over the conscience." The verdict was pre-

determined. Winthrop's record says naively, not to say facetiously, "Mr. Hooker could not reduce him from any of his errors." The morning after the discussion closed, the Court pronounced the well-known sentence, "all the ministers, save one, approving it." This was on the third of November, twenty-seven days after the arrival of Vane. Such was the deep and universal interest in this trial (Neal in his "History of New England," says, that on the final passing of the act "the whole town of Salem was in an uproar") that it is impossible to conceive of Vane's not being present and listening to both sides of the discussion with profound attention. It is safe to say that this first experience in New England was a revelation to him, and it is more than possible, a disappointment, when he

witnessed the spirit and conduct of those who had sought a new world to escape from oppression and persecution, and to breathe the free air of liberty.* So far as is known, this opportunity to see Roger Williams, and to hear his bold, clear, out-spoken interpretation and defence of soul-liberty, was his first personal introduction to the great apostle. It was the beginning of an acquaintance which was to grow more intimate and sympathetic in coming days.

There is no record that at the time of the trial Vane gave any expression

*"It was for religious liberty *in a peculiar sense* that our fathers contended, and they were faithful to the cause *as they understood it.* The true principle of religious liberty, in its wide and full comprehension, had never dawned upon their minds, and was never maintained by them."

Chas. W. Upham, "*Life of Sir Henry Vane,*" p. 61.

of his own opinion. He probably thought that he was too recent a comer to take any part in the discussion. As has been said, the Colonists welcomed him gladly, not only because of his rank, but because of his personal character, and the leading spirits bestowed upon him their admiring praise, and quickly took him into their confidence. Winthrop wrote in his "History of New England," "There came also Mr. Henry Vane, son and heir to Sir Henry Vane, comptroller of the King's house, who being a young gentleman of excellent parts, and had been employed by his father in foreign affairs; yet being called to the obedience of the gospel, forsook the honors and preferments of court to enjoy the ordinances of Christ in their purity here." He also adds that the King commanded

his father to send him hither, and gave him "license for three years stay" and that immediately after his arrival, on November 1st, he was received as a member of the church in Boston.

Before Vane had been here two months he was appointed one of a committee of three to arbitrate in matters of dispute among the Colonists in order to avoid legal proceedings. He undertook with Hugh Peters to harmonize, and with apparent success, certain misunderstandings and jealousies which he found existing between Haynes and Winthrop and Dudley. And then, most remarkable of all, at the following spring election, held March 25, 1636, he was elected Governor of the Colony. He had not then been in Boston six months, and was only twenty-four years of age. He has been truly called

"the boy Governor." He entered upon his official term with considerable pomp and with great acclaim on the part of the people. But he little knew, young and inexperienced as he was, what grave responsibilities he had assumed or what trials would trouble his administration.

Within a week of his accession there was a little flurry in the religio-political atmosphere (that was the prevailing atmosphere of the time) which might have terminated in a disastrous storm, had it not been for the wisdom and courage of the young Governor. As it was, it left a chill upon the mind of one, who should have been his warmest supporter, John Winthrop. Shortly before, Endicott had cut the cross out of the English flag, declaring it to be an idolatrous symbol. Soon there arrived

in the harbor a ship belonging to Wentworth, the powerful Lord Deputy of Ireland, flying the hated flag. The lieutenant of the harbor fortification, which was flying no colors, went on board and ordered the master to strike his flag. Vane secured an apology on the part of the lieutenant, which satisfied the master, and then invited the captains of the fifteen English ships, lying at anchor in the harbor, to a sumptuous dinner. Under the warming and mellowing influence of the Governor's hospitality certain terms of agreement were entered into, calculated to prevent the recurrence of such an insult, and to preserve a mutual understanding in the future.

But the incident was not closed. One of the ships in the fleet, named appropriately the "Hector," had a

mate whose heart evidently had not been softened by the Governor's feast, who boldly "declared that because the King's colors were not shown at the fort, the Colonists were all traitors and rebels." The offending mate was forcibly seized, brought on shore, arraigned before the magistrates, and compelled to retract his words. But the incident opened the very serious question of the relation of the Colony to the English government. What would be the consequences, if the report should be carried back that the Colonists had defied the King, and in their disuse and treatment of the emblem of England's authority, had rendered themselves amenable to the charge of the out-spoken mate? The situation was one of great embarrassment. Opinions were divided as to what course

was expedient. The discussion ran high. Until at length Vane, supported by Dudley and Cotton, took the responsibility, and ordered the flag hoisted on the Castle, defending the act by the rather fine distinction that while they still declared their conviction that the cross on the flag was idolatrous, and should never be used on the Colony's flag, yet it might be lifted over the fort, as that was maintained in the King's name, and so their responsibility would be relieved. The flag was hoisted, one being borrowed from one of the ships, as the Colony was not able to furnish an unmutilated one. Governor Winthrop and many others, it is said, "washed their hands of the concession." This was the first breach between Vane and Winthrop.

The excitement of this incident had hardly subsided before there came the news of the threatened invasion of the hostile Pequots, the most powerful and savage of the Indian tribes. The first intelligence was received in a letter to Governor Vane under date of July 26, 1636, written by the magnanimous exile, Roger Williams, who had scarcely had time to roof in his simple cabin on the banks of the Moshassuck. The information came to him through his friends, the Narragansetts, with whom the Pequots were seeking an alliance for the extermination of the English settlers. Mr. Williams quickly informed the Massachusetts Governor of the plot, and was entreated to use at once his friendly influence with the Narragansetts to prevent the hostile alliance. Mr. Williams at the peril of his life un-

dertook the mission. The account of his service, hardship, and exposure he has given in his thrilling letter to Major Mason: "Upon letters received from the Governor and Council at Boston, requesting me to use my utmost and speediest endeavors to break and hinder the league labored for by the Pequots and Mohegans against the English, the Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself alone, in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind, with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the Sachem's house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors [who were visiting the Narragansetts to effect their desired league], whose hands and arms, methought,

reeked with the blood of my countrymen, * * * and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also."

His mission was successful. As he said, "God wondrously preserved me, and helped me to break to pieces the Pequots' negotiation and design." It is necessary to dwell upon this incident that we may know what part Vane had, if any, in the founding of Rhode Island. Roger Williams not only broke in pieces the contemplated league of the other tribes with the Pequots, but he was instrumental in cementing an English league with the Narragansetts and Mohegans against the Pequots. By his mediation Miantonomo, the two sons of Canonicus, and numerous attendants went to Boston on the twenty-first of October to visit

Governor Vane, and to perfect and ratify the new league, offensive and defensive, against the Pequots. Here is where the Governor's part came in. He received the Indians with much friendliness and parade, feasting them all, and taking the chiefs into his own dining-room. He undoubtedly left a very favorable impression of his good will upon their minds; the treaty was consummated, which was submitted to Roger Williams for interpretation and explanation, showing the confidence of both parties in him, and the red-skin guests were dismissed with more parade and a parting military salute.

In this incident Roger Williams was again brought into personal relations with Vane, who must have gratefully appreciated the service which he had rendered to those who had been his

enemies, must have been won to him by his self-sacrificing and magnanimous spirit, and must have admired him for his wonderful influence and successful diplomacy with his savage neighbors. Now it so happened that a year and a half afterward, in March, 1638, John Clarke, William Coddington, and others, dissatisfied with the disturbed conditions in Boston and the evident lack of liberty which they had crossed the ocean to find, as seen in the violent religious controversy which was then raging, determined to leave the Puritan strife, and migrate southward, to Long Island or Delaware Bay, to found a new colony. On their journey they visited Roger Williams in Providence, and were persuaded by him to change the place of their destination, and through his further persuasion and

assistance Aquidneck and other islands in the Narragansett Bay were purchased of the friendly Sachems, Canonicus and Miantonomo, "on consideration of forty fathoms of white beads," for the new settlement.

It was this transaction to which Roger Williams referred in a letter written in 1658, twenty years later, the language of which has been misunderstood, as if it ascribed an equal and joint agency to Vane and himself, and as if the name "Rhode Island" referred to the whole State as it is now used, instead of being limited in its application to Aquidneck as was formerly the case, a mistake which is sometimes made by modern writers on our early history. The language of Roger Williams's letter is as follows: "It was not price nor money that could have purchased

Rhode Island (i. e. Aquidneck). Rhode Island (i. e. Aquidneck) was obtained by love; by the love and favor which that honorable gentleman, Sir Henry Vane, and myself, had with that great Sachem, Miantonomo, about the league which I procured between the Massachusetts English and the Narragansetts in the Pequot war." It will be noticed that the influence of Governor Vane dates back to the kindly reception which he gave to the Indians at the time the league was entered into, the love which he showed to them at that time, and the favorable impression which he made upon their minds. Roger Williams at the time of writing the letter, twenty years afterward, had been receiving very recent attentions from Sir Henry, and special coöperation and aid in behalf of the charter of the

State, and naturally he thought of his early connection with him at the time of the formation of the league with the Narragansetts, to which friendly league he very generously ascribed some measure of the success in the purchase of Aquidneck. Arnold in the "History of the State of Rhode Island," records the transaction and explains Williams's account of it in these words: "Through the powerful influence of Roger Williams, who in his account of the affair, modestly divides the honor with Sir Henry Vane, negotiations were shortly concluded with Canonicus and Miantonomo for the purchase of the island" [of Aquidneck]. It is very evident that Sir Henry's influence was most remote and indirect, and that he had no active participation in the purchase, which Roger Williams

seems to declare was not a purchase at all, but was won by love, though he adds: "It is true I advised a gratuity to be presented to the Sachem and to the natives." That probably refers to "the forty fathoms of white beads."

Yet it is principally upon the basis of Roger Williams's language, which is so easily misunderstood, that Dr. Ireland claims that "Sir Henry Vane is remembered as one of the founders of Rhode Island." Indeed, Dr. Ireland quotes the language of Roger Williams still further in these words: "This I mention, as the truly noble Sir H. Vane had been so good an instrument in the hand of God for procuring this island from the barbarians, as also for procuring and confirming the charter, that it may be recorded with all thankfulness." This, too, must be regarded

as the expression of a noble and appreciative heart, which is not careful to measure its words with studied accuracy, when it records the valuable service which it has received. That the exceedingly hospitable treatment of the Indian chiefs by Sir Henry Vane confirmed their friendliness towards the English is true enough. That he could have had nothing personally to do in securing the island of Aquidneck as a plantation for the new settlers in March, 1638, is no less true, for he sailed from Boston for England seven months before, on August 3, 1637. Yet Sir Henry does have genuine and substantial claims upon the grateful recognition of the whole State of Rhode Island as one of its early friends, and undoubtedly its most active and influential benefactor in the mother country.

A peculiarly trying experience yet awaited him during his year's occupancy of the Governor's chair, which made a painful ending of his administration which opened so jubilantly, and made a speedy termination of his stay in New England. He was successful in escaping the invasion of the Indians, but he was not successful in escaping the strife of the theologians. It is not within the purpose of this paper to go into the details of that bitter, lamentable and to us utterly irrational controversy over the religious views of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, whom Johnson, in his "Wonder-working Providence" (I. ch. 42) calls "The masterpiece of human wit." Charles Francis Adams ("Three Episodes of Massachusetts History") describes the controversy in these words: "Not only

were the points obscure, but the discussion was carried on in a jargon which has become unintelligible." Partisan feeling was strong, not to say vehement and conscientiously willful on both sides. The Boston church and community were of course the storm-center. The two pastors, John Cotton and John Wilson, were the leaders of the opposing parties; Cotton as the friend and admired pastor of Mrs. Hutchinson, who had been previously known by her in England, and Wilson as the criticized teacher and enemy. Cotton carried with him all the members of the Boston church but five. Wilson's supporters were numerous in the outside settlements, for the whole colony was involved in the controversy.

Vane, whose home was with Cotton, because of his clear and positive views

of religious toleration, espoused the cause of Mrs. Hutchinson, but it cost him, at least temporarily, the valued friendship of Governor Winthrop, who was actively identified with the opposing party. It led to a personal controversy between the two, in which we of to-day believe that Winthrop was wrong and that Vane was right, and had the better of the argument. At any rate he left on record an admirable presentation of the true principle of religious liberty which they had all crossed "the sad and solitary sea" to illustrate and enjoy, and the reasons for their professed belief. Prof. J. L. Diman says: "It seems beyond dispute that what mainly interested Vane was not so much the precise opinions which Anne Hutchinson maintained, as the great doctrine of religious liberty

which he conceived to be imperilled. It was no "mocking and unquiet fancy," such as Clarendon describes, but the early and clear apprehension of the great princple which guided and illumined his whole subsequent career. This is plainly shown in his paper termed "A Brief Resumé." Of course it convinced nobody. The bitter strife with the deep disappointment of soul at the destruction of his high hopes, was too much for the nerves and the power of endurance of "the boy Governor."* "At a meeting of the magistrates and ministers convened to reconcile, if possible, the jarring par-

*"Vane's mind was deeply vexed by these bitter controversies. He had crossed the ocean to get quit of Laud and his commissioners, and here were new inquisitors eager to suppress every opinion which did not chime in with their own. They had brought with them the root of all this intolerance, the conviction that men could only be saved from everlasting torments by

ties," the discussion descended to sharp personalities. Even Peters, his quondam friend, accused him to his face of destroying the peace of the colony (though the divisions had their origin in the people, not in him), and of being presumptuous for one of his youth and inexperience. Then it was that the Governor, having defended himself manfully and sometimes sharply, possibly giving as good as he received, broke down, and pleaded in tears that they would accept his resignation and release him from the responsibility and the pain of it all. Brooks Adams remarks: "That a young and untried

adopting certain dogmas. The controversy was shifted from ceremonies to shadowy doctrines, the covenant of grace and of works instead of the ritual and the altar. Instead of the Pope being antichrist, it was Anne Hutchinson, who deserved that appellation."

Wm. W. Ireland's "*Life of Sir Henry Vane*," p. 80.

man like Vane should have grown weary of his office and longed to escape, will astonish no one who is familiar with the character and mode of warfare of his enemies."

His friends in Boston, who stood by him loyally, persuaded him to withdraw his resignation and serve out his term. At the spring election after a heated campaign amid scenes rarely surpassed at a ward caucus in our day,* Governor Winthrop was chosen

*"The whole town of Boston and the whole colony of Massachusetts was set in commotion by the rude theological brawl. Such was the state of combustion in Boston that it was thought necessary by the opponents of Vane and Mrs. Hutchinson to hold the court of elections at the former capital, Newtown. The excitement at this court was so great that the church members, who only could vote, were on the point of laying violent hands on one another in a contest growing out of a question relating to the indwelling of the Holy Ghost."

Edward Eggleston, "*The Beginners of a Nation*," p. 335.

Governor, and Vane and his friends were retired from office. He was, however, elected at once to represent Boston in the General Court, and when the election was declared illegal, he was re-elected the very next day. The indignation at the treatment of Vane was intense, in which for a time undoubtedly he shared, though it brought to him relief from his official trials. The religious discussion still went on without abatement to its painful, predetermined issue. Vane did not wait to see it through. On the third of August he took ship for the old world,

"It was therefore a time of intensest excitement; a tumult was feared; fierce speeches were bandied about; Mr. Wilson himself, the pastor of the Boston Church, harangued the electors from a tree into which he climbed; and there was rash laying on of hands among some of the disputants."

John S. Barry, "*History of Massachusetts, First Period,*" p. 212.

having been in the new world only one year and ten months. His departure was announced by salvos of artillery from the shore and the Castle in Boston harbor, and he sailed away from experiences which were often distressing, but undoubtedly of great educational value, serving to strengthen his convictions, clarify his views of liberty, and fit him for twenty-five years of conspicuous service in that stormy period of English history, as perhaps England's most brilliant statesman, the persistent advocate of civil and religious freedom, and the trusted friend of New England.

Possibly Vane's brief career in the Massachusetts Bay may not have been without its beneficial effects here, though not recognized at the time. One contemporaneous writer said of

his career: "It was of God's great mercy that it ended not in our destruction." A remark which leads Prof. Hosmer to reply: "Very likely. He was to become one of the greatest of state-builders; he tried his 'prentice-hand' on Massachusetts, the very energy which, when well guided, was to be so effective, racking nearly to its downfall the jack-straw framework which the cautious Winthrop was so painfully erecting." To quote Professor Diman again: "Vane's career in Massachusetts may have seemed to himself, as doubtless it seemed to others, a mortifying failure, but he left a deep mark on the institutions of the New World. Systems perish, but ideas are indestructible. The curious theocratic State, built up with so much pains by Winthrop and his connections, has

passed away. The principle of entire religious liberty, which, through the efforts of Vane, received for the first time in Christendom a recognition in Rhode Island, has continued to grow till the whole land sits under the shadow of it." It is pleasant to know that the alienation between Vane and Winthrop was short-lived. They were both men of too large mould to cherish petty misunderstandings and animosities, and were in fact actuated by similar spirits and aims, and were pressing towards the same goal, though it may be at a slightly different pace.

Seven years afterward, when the Massachusetts Colonists were in distressing need of friends at Court, Winthrop wrote: "It pleased God to stir them up such friends, viz.: Sir Henry Vane, who had sometime lived in

Boston, and though he might have taken occasion against us for some dishonor which he apprehended to have been unjustly put upon him here, yet both now and at other times he showed himself a true friend to New England, and a man of noble and generous mind." The year following, when England was torn in twain by the civil war, the week before, the stronghold of Leicester having been captured by the forces of the King, and the week after, the victory of Naseby being won, Vane who was then the acknowledged leader of Parliament wrote an affectionate letter to Governor Winthrop, expressing and commending the spirit of charity and forbearance, where views were so often conflicting. He wrote:

"Honored Sir, I received yours by your Son, and was unwilling to let him return without telling you as much. The exercise and troubles which God is pleased to lay upon these kingdoms and the inhabitants in them, teaches us patience and forbearance one with another in some measure, though there be difference in our opinions, which makes me hope that from the experience here, it may also be derived to yourselves, lest whilst the Congregational way amongst you is in its freedom and is backed with power, it teach its oppungners here to extirpate it and róot it out from its principles and practice. I shall need to say no more, knowing your son can acquaint you particularly with our affairs. Sir, I am,

Your very affectionate Friend and Servant in Christ, H. VANE.

June the 10th, 1645.

Pray commend me kindly to your wife, Mr. Cotton and his wife, and the rest of my friends with you.

For my honored friend John Winthrop, Sr. Esq."

On account of Vane's residence and influence in New England and his long and gracious and vastly important influence in behalf of New England after his return home, Mr. Upham, his biographer, feels justified in saying, "The name of young Sir Henry Vane is the most appropriate link to bind us to the land of our fathers."

Vane's life was still before him. His early return was looked upon with suspicion by those who had rejoiced in his departure, was a surprise to his friends, and possibly to himself. But he soon left no one in any doubt as to where he stood. Garrard wrote to the Lord Deputy: "Henry Vane, the comptroller's eldest son, who hath been Governor in New England this last year is come home; whether he hath left his former misgrounded opinions

for which he left us, I know not." Men did not need to wait long to be convinced that his exile, instead of curing him of his "misgrounded opinions," had only confirmed him in his Puritanism and Republicanism. After taking a brief rest in his old home with his kindred, and making the necessary preparations for a home of his own by taking to wife Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, he identified himself openly, actively, unreservedly, with what he believed to be the cause of the people, and laid himself literally, with all his maturing and exceptional powers, upon that altar. Only the briefest outline of the events of his political career, the offices he filled and the service he rendered, can be given; nor is more necessary to our purpose.

He was elected to Parliament in 1640, was quickly and sympathetically associated with Hampden and Pym, and soon became an acknowledged leader. He enjoyed their companionship and support, however, for only a brief time. Hampden received a mortal wound at the fight at Chalgrove Field, June 18, 1643, and in December of the same year, Vane assisted in carrying the body of his friend and teacher, Pym, to its burial in Westminster Abbey. Godwin, in "The History of the Commonwealth (I. 176), declares, "Vane was the individual best qualified to succeed Hampden as a counsellor in the arduous struggle in which at this time the nation was engaged." And Forster bears this testimony to Vane's political primacy: "The efforts of Pym found their worth-

iest supplement and completion in the younger Sir Henry Vane. ("Statesmen of the Commonwealth," p. 282.)

In the mention of every group of Puritan leaders, however small, the name of Vane is invariably conspicuous. In the camp before York, says Godwin, "We might see Manchester, deficient neither in the qualities of a gentleman nor the valour of a soldier, Cromwell, the future guide and oppressor of the Commonwealth, and Vane, ever profound in thought and sagacious in purpose, embracing in his capacious mind all the elements of public safety." Says Forster, "A wide gulf separated Vane from the Presbyterian party on many of the most important questions of civil policy. But on the side of toleration with him stood also Cromwell, Marten, and St. John, and such

men as Whitelocke and Selden. Milton, too, lent to that great cause the astonishing force of his genius." Again Godwin says, "Cromwell, Ireton, St. John and Vane were four of the ablest statesmen that ever figured upon the theatre of any nation." And still again, Godwin says: "It is impossible to consider these appointments [Bradshaw to be President of the Council and Milton to be Secretary of the Council for foreign tongues] without great respect. They laid the foundation for the illustrious figure which was made by the Commonwealth of England during the succeeding years. The admirable state of the navy is in a great degree to be ascribed to the superlative talents and eminent public virtue of Vane. * * * The perfect friendship of these three men, Milton, Bradshaw and Vane, is,

in itself considered, a glory to the island that gave them birth."

Vane was knighted by Charles I undoubtedly through his father's influence, and to propitiate his possible hostility to the King was made joint Treasurer of the Navy. He was accidentally associated with the trial and execution of the Earl of Strafford, and was actively engaged in all the discussions and measures that led up to the civil war, and was uniformly on the right side. The King raised his standard at Nottingham, August 22, 1642, and the bloody conflict for the rights of Parliament and the liberties of the English people was inaugurated. Vane's voice and rapidly increasing influence in the counsels of the nation were consecrated without stint to what he believed to be the cause of civil and

religious freedom. He was instrumental in securing the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant, which sent thousands of armed Scotchmen over the line to the help of the Parliamentary forces, and made Naseby and Marston Moor possible. He opposed the execution of Charles I, doubting the wisdom of the regicidal act, and also opposed Pride's Purge, unwilling to consent to any use of arbitrary and despotic power.* He was

*"Next morning (the army having advanced meanwhile from Windsor to London) the city guard was withdrawn from Westminster by its commander Skippon, and the posts were occupied by three regiments under the command of Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Henson, and Colonel Pride. The latter officer, with a list in his hand, took his station at the door of the House of Commons, and as the members entered and were identified by the doorkeeper and Lord Grey of Groby, who stood near Pride for the purpose, arrested in succession, and during a period of three days, the Presbyterian majority, in all upward of a hundred

the friend and admired associate of Milton, the great Republican statesman, believer in truth and freedom and "Poet Laureate of the Puritans,"* and for a time the most intimate associate and powerful supporter of Cromwell, though later he broke with the Great Commoner, objecting to what he be-

and fifty members, several of whom were afterward unconditionally restored."

John Forster's "*The Statesmen of the Commonwealth,*" p. 370.

*"Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; whoever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter? * * * For who knows not that truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, no strategems, nor licensings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power."

From Milton's "*Areopagitica.*"

"It seems to me sometimes as if New England were a translation into prose of the thought that was working in Milton's mind from its early morning to its sunset."—*Frederic D. Maurice.*

lieved to be his unwarranted and dangerous usurpation of power, and was in consequence imprisoned by him.* He was instrumental in conjunction with Cromwell in pushing to a successful issue what Forster calls "one of the most masterly strokes of policy that had yet distinguished the

*When Cromwell dissolved the Parliament by force of arms, Milton than whom he had no wiser counsellor, sent to him a message of warning, which contained these memorable words—"Recollect that thou thyself canst not be free, unless we are so; for it is fitly so provided in the nature of things that he who conquers another's liberty, in the very act loses his own; he becomes, and justly, the foremost slave. But indeed, if thou, the patron of our liberty, should undermine the freedom, which thou hadst but so lately built up, this would prove not only deadly and destructive to thine own fame, but to the entire and universal cause of religion and virtue. The very substance of piety and honour will be seen to have evaporated, and the most sacred ties and engagements will cease to have any value with our posterity; than which a more grievous wound cannot be inflicted on human interests and happiness, since the fall of the first father of our race."

statesmanship of the times," viz., "the self denying ordinance and the new model," which placed the military leadership in the hands of the Independents.

He was made Secretary of the Navy, and pushed every measure to promote the efficiency of both army and navy; indeed, under his supervision and administration the English navy was so enlarged and equipped that it defeated the Dutch fleet under Van Tromp, and England became mistress of the sea. Such was his victorious leadership that he was declared to be in Parliament what Cromwell was in the army. Richard Baxter's exact words are: "He was that within the House that Cromwell was without."

Under Cromwell Vane, being out of sympathy with his measures, retired

for a period to private life, during which period he wrote his principal theological work, entitled "A Retired Man's Meditations," for Vane was not only a deeply religious man, a genuine Puritan, but he was a profound student of the Scriptures and a disciple of Origen, especially delighting in the study of the prophecies, and given to excessive allegorical interpretation, so that men have entertained entirely opposite views as to the value of the results of his studies. He also wrote at this time, "The Healing Question," a frank and manly reply to what he supposed to be an honest public appeal by Cromwell for light. It was this publication which he sent to Cromwell, that, instead of enlightening his mind, enraged it, and caused his arrest and

temporary imprisonment in the Isle of Wight.

For many years the relations between Vane and Cromwell were of the most intimate character. They invented familiar and affectionate names for each other, which they used in their correspondence. It is the verdict of history that "No man served the Commonwealth with more zeal than Vane."* Lilburne complained that Cromwell

*Cromwell called Vane "Brother Heron," and Vane addressed Cromwell as "Brother Fountain." "No man served the Commonwealth with more zeal. Vane was elected a member of every Council of State during the period, and his name is always high in the list of attendances. He was on every committee of importance. When Cromwell invaded Scotland, the business of supplying his army with money, provisions and re-enforcements was especially trusted to Vane's care, and Vane also kept him informed of home and foreign politics. 'Let H. Vane know what I write' is Cromwell's message when he was in his greatest extremity just before the battle of Dunbar."

C. H. Firth in "*Dictionary of National Biography.*"

was "led by the nose by two unworthy, covetous earthworms," meaning Vane and St. John. The question of dissolving the Long Parliament produced a lasting breach between them. Vane characterized it as "usurpation," as "plucking up of liberty by the very roots," as "introducing an arbitrary regal power under the name of Protector, by force and the law of the sword."* The exclamation of Crom-

*"Though the authority of the faithful was the rule in their churches, the greater number of them admitted that the Divine Will also manifested itself extraordinarily by a word or an inspired action; the gift of prophecy was to them a reality of their present day. It was from this source that Cromwell now sought the authority which he would not, and indeed could not, any longer demand of the people. To his staff he was the General, and that was enough, but to those to whom might by itself was not right, he declared that he had been called of God, and it was on this ground that he justified his actions when he drove the Parliament from Westminster, and had himself proclaimed Protector of the Republic. Read his speeches, his declarations,

well, often quoted as if it was an expression of his judgment of Vane, "Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" was little more, probably, than a passionate outburst of impatience and anger at the opposition of a man which he dreaded more than that of any other. The words were uttered with other frenzied words on the floor of the House of Commons, when Cromwell, accompanied by an armed force, broke up the Long Parliament, striding back and forth, and speaking, as Lud-

his conversations. All remind us of this aspect of his mission; he marches before the people of England as Gideon did before Israel. * * *

The genius of this extraordinary man seems to have imposed upon the Puritan democracy, for a time, a new Divine Right by favor of those very beliefs out of which that democracy had arisen, and which had taught it to resist Divine Right."

Charles Borgeaud's "*The Rise of Modern Democracy*," pp. 97, 98.

low says, "with so much passion and discomposure, as if he had been distracted."

When Richard Cromwell rose to power, Vane was again returned to Parliament, and became inevitably a leader. He openly opposed the new Protector and boldly denied his right of succession. He was excluded in 1660, and at the restoration of Charles II was a second time arrested, and this time sent to the fatal Tower. His refusal to sanction the execution of Charles I did not save him, as it ought to have and would have, had the King kept his word. An exception was made in his case. He was too dangerous a man to live under a Stuart dynasty. Falsé charges of high treason for compassing the death of the King and subverting the ancient form of govern-

ment were trumped up against him. A form of trial was gone through with, in which he was denied counsel, but in which he made a masterly defence, citing law and precedent, and utterly confusing his judges, one of whom confessed, "Though we knew not what to say to him, we knew what to do with him," and then he was sentenced to the block, where he was beheaded June 14, 1662. The day after the verdict was rendered, the King wrote to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, the instigator of the whole persecution, a letter in which he said: "He is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly [he might have added or dishonestly] put him out of the way." It is stated that the roofs of the houses and the windows overlooking the path from the Tower to the scaffold were crowded with

people who gave expression to their feelings in words of tender sympathy and grateful appreciation and encouragement. His parting words to his wife and children, and his farewell address upon the scaffold, where he was treated most brutally, are among the noblest utterances that ever fell from human lips. And so died a man of conspicuous gifts and enlightened views, far in advance of his time, with a love for his country and its highest interests only equalled by his love for his family and his Maker, with as brave and true a heart as ever throbbed in a human breast, a man of whom England was not worthy.

So commanding was his personal influence, so extraordinary his ability and insight into men and principles, and so exalted his character, that his

enemy, and the enemy of toleration, the royalist Clarendon, (who managed to get himself hated alike by Presbyterians, Independents, and Papists, and finally incurred the displeasure of Charles II, was deserted by his friends, banished by Parliament, and died in exile,) Lord Clarendon acknowledged, "Sir Henry Vane was one of the commissioners, and therefore the others need not be named, since he was all in any business where others were joined with him. He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, a great understanding, which pierced into and discerned the purpose of other men with wonderful sagacity, whilst he had himself *vultum clausum*, that no man could make guess of what he intended." Clarendon charges him with being shrewd and tricksy in his diplomacy;

but such charges came only from the lips of enemies. Robert Baillie, also a contemporary, a leading Scotch Presbyterian and member of the Westminster Assembly, characterizes him as "one of the gravest and ablest of English statesmen." So conspicuous was his statesmanship that John Fiske says of him: "With the single exception of Cromwell, the greatest statesman of the heroic age of Puritanism was unquestionably the younger Henry Vane. * * * After the death of Pym, in 1643, Sir Henry Vane, then thirty-one years of age, was the foremost man in the Long Parliament, and so remained as long as that Parliament controlled the march of events." So enlightened was his spirit, and so free from the bondage of tradition and circumstance, so progressive was he in his thought,

and so modern in his conceptions of civil government and human rights, that Mr. Fiske boldly adds: "Thorough republican and enthusiastic lover of liberty, he was spiritually akin to Jefferson and to Samuel Adams."

Carlyle, in a portraiture grotesque and strangely depreciative, describes Vane as "a man of light fiber. Grant all manner of purity and elevation; subtle high discourse; much intellectual and practical dexterity; there is an amiable, devoutly zealous, very pretty man; but not a royal man; alas, no! On the whole rather a thin man." A man who was the acknowledged leader in the House of Parliament for years in a trying and stormy period, who honorably filled the most responsible official positions in the State, who by his consummate diplomacy brought

about the "Solemn League and Covenant," who developed the English navy until it swept the sea of its mightiest foe, and who dared to oppose Cromwell, the most formidable personality in the seventeenth century, can hardly be spoken of as "a man of light fiber," "a very pretty man," "on the whole rather a thin man." Such epithets appear to be most astonishing misfits.

On the other hand, Sir James Mackintosh declares that "Sir Henry Vane was one of the most profound minds that ever existed, not inferior, perhaps, to Bacon. * * * His works display astonishing powers. They are remarkable as containing the first direct assertion of liberty of conscience." Of course this last statement is incorrect. Few men have lived who have been the subjects of such widely differing judg-

ments. Swift called him "a dangerous, enthusiastic beast;" while Hallam, without prejudice, describes him as "not only incorrupt, but disinterested, inflexible in conforming his public conduct to his principles, and averse to every sanguinary and oppressive measure." To have opposed Cromwell seems to have been, to Cromwell's eulogists, Vane's unpardonable offence, and to have blinded their eyes to the nobility of his character and the greatness of his service.

Perhaps the acme of human praise was reached by that matchless orator, Wendell Phillips, in his famous Phi Beta Kappa oration, delivered at Cambridge, in 1881, in which he said: "Sir Henry Vane, in my judgment, the noblest human being who ever walked the streets of yonder city—I do not

forget Franklin or Sam Adams, Washington or Fayette, Garrison or John Brown. But Vane dwells an arrow's flight above them all, and his touch consecrated the continent to measureless toleration of opinion and entire equality of rights. We are told we can find in Plato 'all the intellectual life of Europe for two thousand years.' So you can find in Vane the pure gold of two hundred and fifty years of American civilization with no particle of its dross. Plato would have welcomed him to the Academy and Fenelon kneeled with him at the altar. He made Somers and John Marshall possible; like Carnot, he organized victory; and Milton pales before him in the stainlessness of his record. He stands among English statesmen pre-eminently the representative, in practice and

theory, of serene faith in the safety of trusting truth wholly to her own defence. For other men we walk backward, and throw over their memories the mantle of charity and excuse, saying reverently, 'Remember the temptation and the age.' But Vane's ermine has no stain; no act of his needs explanation or apology; and in thought he stands abreast of the age,—like pure intellect, he belongs to all time. Carlyle said in years when his words were worth heeding, 'Young men, close your Byron and open your Goethe.' If my counsel had weight in these halls, I should say, 'Young men, close your John Winthrop and Washington, your Jefferson and Webster, and open Sir Harry Vane.' It was the generation that knew Vane who gave to our *Alma*

Mater for a seal the simple pledge, *Veritas.*"

It would be interesting to cite numerous quotations from Vane's speeches and writings, for they are numerous, which justify such high praise. Three or four brief quotations must suffice. The first is taken from a speech made on the floor of Parliament during the eight days' discussion on the Act of Recognition of Richard Cromwell to be Protector of the Commonwealth. He said, "It was then necessary, as the first act, to have resort to the foundation of all just power, and to create and establish a free State; to bring the people out of bondage, from all pretence of superiority over them. It seemed plain to me that all offices had their rise from the people, and that all should be accountable to them. If this

be monstrous, then it is monstrous to be safe and rational, and to bear your own good."

In a remarkable treatise, entitled "The People's Case Stated," Vane declared: "The end of all government, being for the good and welfare, and not for the destruction, of the ruled, God who is the institutor of government, as he is pleased to ordain the office of governors, intrusting them with power to command the just and reasonable things which his own law commands, that carry their own evidence to common reason and sense, at least, that do not evidently contradict it, so he grants a liberty to the subjects, or those that by him are put under the rule, to refuse all such commands as are contrary to his law, or to the judgment of common reason and sense, whose trial he allows,

by way of assent or dissent, before the commands of the ruler shall be binding or put in execution; and this in a co-ordinacy of power with just government and as the due balance thereof; for the original impressions of just laws are in man's nature and very constitution of being. * * * Sovereign power then comes from God, as its proper root, but the restraint or enlargement of it, in its execution over such a body, is founded in the common consent of that body."

Again he says, "All just executive power arose from the free will and gift of the people, who might either keep the power in themselves, or give up their subjection into the hands and will of another, if they shall judge that thereby they shall better answer the

end of government, to wit, the welfare and safety of the whole."

Such declarations anticipated by two hundred years the inspired utterance of President Lincoln: "A government of the people, by the people and for the people."

A final quotation is taken from "A Retired Man's Meditations," and expresses Vane's views especially and clearly upon the subject of religious liberty. "Magistracy is not to intrude itself into the office and proper concerns of Christ's inward government and rule in the conscience; but it is to content itself with the outward man, and to intermeddle with the concerns thereof in reference to the converse which man ought to have with man, upon the grounds of natural just and right in things appertaining to this

life,"—language inspired by the spirit and faith which drew up the immortal compact signed by the thirteen settlers of the Providence Plantations, who agreed "to submit themselves to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for the public good of the body *only in civil things*."

All through Vane's public career, by voice and pen, in Parliament and out of Parliament, from beginning to end, in America and in England, from his discussion with John Winthrop when he announced principles which Winthrop had been compelled before to hear from the lips of Roger Williams, to his final utterance on the scaffold, he pleaded for the rights and liberties of all men, for liberty regulated by law, for religious toleration, and for the recognition of the sovereignty of the

people. Under God in Vane's programme of human government the people were supreme and the conscience was to be forever free.

He died without seeing the realization of his splendid vision. But his service and sacrifice helped to make it possible for an English poet of a subsequent generation to sing—

"Though o'er our heads the frozen Pleiads shine,
'Tis Liberty that crowns Brittania's isle,
And makes her barren rocks and her bleak mountains smile."

Indeed, as Peter Bayne asserts, "Constitutional logic has not made a single step in advance of the fundamental positions of Vane. No possible political development can outrun the sovereignty of the people, represented in an assembly appointed by the

people's intelligent will. This was his essential principle."

And this man, statesman, publicist, prophet, patriot, martyr, whose claims "will yet be more fully recognized in England" in the belief of his English biographer, Dr. Ireland, was by spiritual sympathy and conviction, by voluntary choice, by generous words and influential deeds, the friend of Roger Williams and Rhode Island.

In June, 1643, Roger Williams was sent to England to procure a charter for the Colony. He arrived near the beginning of the Civil War, which was convulsing the nation. Naturally he sought out Sir Henry Vane, whom Oscar Straus calls his "intimate friend" and "distinguished coadjutor in the cause of religious liberty." The previous acquaintance in New England

proved most fortunate. Vane received him cordially, and invited him to be his guest in London and in Lincolnshire. His friendship and aid crowned his mission with success. A Board of Commissioners for the Colonies had been appointed by Parliament, of which Board Vane was an influential member. By him Roger Williams was introduced to the Board, and his request advocated. It was probably under Vane's hospitable roof on this visit that Williams wrote his famous treatise, entitled "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution," in answer to a letter of John Cotton, a treatise which he dedicated to Parliament, and in which he discussed the great principles of religious liberty. In the preface he refers to "a heavenly speech," which he heard from one of the

members of Parliament, who was undoubtedly Vane.

Often in those long evenings when they were waiting anxiously for news from the contending armies, Williams and Vane must have discussed together the principles for the triumph of which they had both pledged their fortunes and their lives. As soon as the chapters of the book were completed, one by one, Williams must have read them to Vane, and found in him a most attentive and sympathetic listener. Gratefully recognizing the generous assistance of his friend, Williams returned from his successful expedition, reaching Boston, September 17, 1644, armed not only with the desired charter, but with a communication to the Massachusetts authorities requesting them to permit him to pass through

their territory, a thing which they had refused to do on his way out. This was signed by men prominent in the English Parliament, and undoubtedly Vane had a willing hand in getting it up. It began, as follows:

"*Our much honored friends:*

"Taking notice some of us of long time of Mr. Roger Williams' good affections and conscience, and of his sufferings by our common enemy and oppressors of God's people, the prelates, as also of his great industry and travels in his printed Indian labors in your parts (the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of America), [Williams had published while in Europe his 'Key to the Indian Language'], and in which respect it hath pleased both Houses of Parliament to grant unto

him, and friends with him, a free and absolute charter of civil government for those parts of his abode," etc., etc. The Massachusetts authorities granted the request reluctantly, not daring to refuse, at the same time justifying their previous treatment of Williams. This "free and absolute charter of civil government," as it was called, was wholly unique in colonial history. Previous charters had been granted by favor of the Crown with only limited provisions for liberty of independent action. This charter was issued by the Long Parliament, which had no occasion to protect the rights and prerogatives of the King, but granted to "the well affected and industrious inhabitants" of this Colony full powers and authority to govern themselves. "To the Long Parliament," says Bancroft, "and es-

pecially to Sir Henry Vane, Rhode Island owes its existence as a political State," or rather he should have said, its recognition as a free political State, for it had already existed without recognition for seven years. It must have been a peculiar satisfaction to Vane to assist in giving equal colonial standing to a State founded upon principles which he had failed to get incorporated in the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay.

"Mr. Williams's return to Providence," says Knowles, "was greeted by a voluntary expression of the attachment and gratitude of its inhabitants, which is one of the most satisfactory testimonies to his character. They met him at Seekonk, with fourteen canoes, and carried him across the river to Providence." Such an expression of grateful appreciation of his service to

the Colony must have been very gratifying to Roger Williams. So far as is known there was but one heart capable of hatred and jealousy at such a time. Richard Scott, once a friend, later an enemy, recorded the incident, and added, "The man being hemmed in, in the midst of the canoes, was so elevated and transported out of himself, that I was condemned in myself that amongst the rest, I had been an instrument to set him up in his pride and folly."

Again in 1652, Roger Williams visited England at the request of the Colony to secure a confirmation of the charter, and an interpretation which should preserve their liberties, and protect them against the threatened encroachments of their neighbors. In this visit

he was accompanied by Dr. John Clarke, of Newport, who also went by the request of his neighbors to secure, if possible, a revocation of Coddington's ambitious and autocratic commission, which he had secretly obtained. It is more than probable that during the intervening eight years, since Williams's first visit, a frequent correspondence had been carried on between these leaders in the cause of religious liberty, each being eager to know how the battle was going on the other side of the world. At any rate, the friendship was unbroken, even cemented by their continued devotion to the common cause. Many things had happened in England, and many changes had come about, which it is not necessary to relate. But the heart of Vane was unchanged, and his hand was

pledged to his aid. He welcomed him again to his home in London, and to his country seat at Belleau. Vane occupied the responsible position at the head of the navy (though he was soon to be set aside), and the great sea-war with the Dutch was in progress. But he had time to aid his friends from the new world, where "the lively experiment" was being tried, and tested as well. Again he must have conversed often with his former guest about the fresh rejoinder to Cotton which he was putting through the press under the title, "The Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody," and probably with his new guest, Dr. Clarke, who was also publishing a book entitled "Ill News from New England or a Narrative of New England's Persecutions," which was of the nature of a personal experience

which he had had in Massachusetts. (It may be said, by way of parenthesis, that Williams published at this time another, purely religious book, called "Experiments of Spiritual Life," which Lady Vane permitted him to dedicate to herself.) But amid all this literary work the main object of their visit was kept ever in mind.

Through the mediation of Vane a hearing was at length appointed with the Council of State to whom a petition was presented, who, on April 8, 1652, referred it to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It met with serious opposition, but at last through the powerful influence of one whose name can easily be surmised, the Council granted an order to vacate Mr. Coddington's commission, and to confirm the former charter. But let Roger Williams re-

port the struggle in his own words, and give the credit to whom it is due. In a letter written from Sir Henry Vane's, at Belleau, in Lincolnshire, under date of April 1st, 1653, twelve months after the petition was presented, to his "dear and loving friends and neighbors of Providence and Warwick," he wrote: "Our noble friend, Sir Henry Vane, having the navy of England mostly depending on his care, and going down to the navy at Portsmouth, I was invited by them both to accompany his lady to Lincolnshire. . . . I hope it may have pleased the Most High Lord of sea and land to bring Capt. Ch-rst-n's ship and dear Mr. Dyre* unto you, and with him the

*This was William Dyer, who was one of the nineteen signers of the religio-civic compact (more religio than civic) of the Aquidneck settlers, March 7, 1638.

Council's letters, which answer the petition (that is, which are the answer to the petition) Sir Henry Vane and myself drew up, and the Council by Sir Henry's mediation, granted us, for the confirmation of the charter, until the determination of the controversy. This determination, you may please to understand, is hindered by two main obstructions."

The two obstructions he explained were, first, the absorbing interest of the

William Coddington and John Clarke were the first two signers. Dyer's signature was the eleventh. He was evidently a man of considerable prominence, and held official positions at Aquidneck, and later under the united colonies, for many years. It is supposed that he went to England with Williams and Clarke, and after the action of the Council of State annulling Coddington's commission and authorizing the colonies to unite under the old charter of 1643, was commissioned by them to return to this country and bring the joyful news. He was the husband of Mary Dyer, the Quaker martyr, who was hanged on Boston Common, June 1, 1660.

war with the Dutch, which he said "makes England and Holland and the nations tremble," and secondly, the opposition of Winslow and Hopkins, who represented the New England Confederacy, and the friends in Parliament whom they had gained to their side, and of "all the priests," as he calls them, "both Presbyterian and Independent." Then he adds with emphasis and gratitude, "Under God, the sheet-anchor of our ship is Sir Henry, who will do as the eye of God leads him." The whole business seemed to be in Vane's hands. He and Williams drew up the petition. He secured its presentation before the Council of State, and labored for its favorable consideration. It was by his intercession that the action was taken, and the combined forces of the opposition

were defeated. Williams had not a word of commendation for any one else. Vane was "the sheet anchor of their ship," which saved their hopes from failure and wreck. To him and to his friendship for Roger Williams and devotion to the principles which he and Clarke represented, Rhode Island is indebted for the confirmation of its original charter. This was, indeed, a preliminary step, until a final adjudication could be reached; but it was an immensely important step. It preserved the integrity of Rhode Island for ten years, and prepared the way for the charter of 1663. That charter Vane did not live to see. Indeed, Cromwell dissolved the Rump Parliament that very year (1653), and Vane was set aside and remained in retirement for several years, having

but a brief period of public service after that, before his beheading.

Williams, however, maintained friendly relations with Cromwell. He remained in England until the Protectorate was established, and then having obtained assurances from Cromwell that the interests of Rhode Island would be cared for, he left the business remaining to be attended to in the hands of his friend, Dr. Clarke, who remained in England on private business, and also as the agent of the Colony, and responded to an urgent summons to return home on account of the unseemly divisions and disorder which prevailed among the Colonists.

No heart was more grieved and distressed by the reported condition in the Providence Colony than the heart of Vane, who looked upon it as the

fullest illustration of his cherished principles on either side of the Atlantic. Upon its success there would be hope for the world. Upon its failure all would be lost. As an expression of his deep and abiding interest in the prosperity of Rhode Island and the success of its experiment, an interest so deep that his own happiness and life seemed to be bound up in it, he made Roger Williams the bearer of a letter to the citizens, which was filled with affectionate rebukes and the most earnest appeals that for their own safety and for the sake of the sacred cause which they represented, in which was involved the cause of liberty, of humanity and the kingdom of God on earth, they would cease from their bickerings and strife, and follow the things that make for peace.

"How is it that there are such divisions amongst you? Such headiness, tumults, disorders, injustice? The noise echoes into the ears of all, as well friends as enemies, by every return of ships from those parts. Is not the fear and awe of God amongst you to restrain? Is not the love of Christ in you, to fill you with yearning bowels, one towards another, and constrain you not to live to yourselves, but to Him that died for you, yea, that is risen again? Are there no wise men amongst you? No public self-denying spirits, that at least, upon the grounds of public safety, equity and prudence, can find out some way or means of union and reconciliation for you amongst yourselves, before you became a prey to common enemies, especially since this State by the last letter from the

Council of State, gave you your freedom, as supposing a better use would have been made of it than there hath been? Surely, when kind and simple remedies are applied and are ineffectual, it speaks loud and broadly the high and dangerous distempers of such a body, as if the wounds were incurable. But I hope better things from you, though I thus speak, and should be apt to think, that by commissioners agreed on and appointed on all parts, and on behalf of all interests, in a general meeting, such a union and common satisfaction might arise, as, through God's blessing, might put a stop to your growing breaches and distractions, silence your enemies, encourage your friends, honor the name of God (which of late hath been much blasphemed, by reason of you), and in

particular, refresh and revive the sad heart of him, who mourns over your present evils, as being your affectionate friend, to serve you in the Lord.

Belleau, the 8th of February, 1653–4.

H. VANE."

This letter, couched in the frankest, most affectionate and fatherly language, produced a favorable effect, and Roger Williams was requested to prepare and forward a reply, in which due acknowledgment was made of his "constant loving kindness and favor from the first beginning of this Providence Colony." While, therefore, Sir Henry Vane may not be called, in the strict sense of the title, "one of the founders of Rhode Island" (there is no evidence that he ever set foot on its soil), he was certainly its chief benefactor, giv-

ing to it the great influence of his strong personality, his high social rank, his official position, and his active sympathy. To him Rhode Island owes a lasting debt of gratitude for its firm establishment as a Commonwealth, and for the preservation of its liberties.

Boston, which never lost faith in its "boy Governor" (though the rest of the Colony, to its shame be it said, refused to re-elect him), and honored him in his departure with every demonstration of appreciation and respect, has placed just within the entrance of its public library a statue of Vane of heroic size, by MacMonnies. Its plumed hat, and hanging sword, and gay attire show little of the Puritan, but more of the Cavalier, whose propriety is supposed to be justified on account of his family connection; yet

it is a fitting, though tardy, acknowledgment of his heroic leadership in the battle of human freedom.

Some memorial in the city of Providence, in enduring bronze or imperishable granite, would be a most fitting tribute to his memory, and his great service in Rhode Island's infancy and time of need. And upon that monument no more appropriate inscription could be placed than the immortal tribute of his intimate friend and co-laborer in the cause of human freedom, the poet Milton, with whom, he being Secretary of the Council, Williams, when on his second visit to England, lived in intimate relations, those of teacher and pupil as well as those of friends of a noble cause. In this manner would be associated in this birth-place of civil and religious

liberty that triumvirate of great names —Roger Williams, John Milton, and Sir Henry Vane.

"Vane, young in years, but sage in counsel old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome, when gowns not arms repelled
The fierce Epirot and the African bold,—
Whether to settle peace, or to unfold
The drift of hollow states hard to be spell'd,
Then to advise how War may best, upheld,
Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold,
In all her equipage: besides to know
Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
What severs each, thou hast learn'd, which few have done:
The bounds of either sword to thee we owe:
Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son."

APPENDIX A.

John Cotton and Sir Henry Vane, Jr.

In the inscription prepared for the recumbent marble statue of John Cotton in the First Church in Boston, he is described as the "Preceptor and Friend of Vane." Edwin D. Mead, in a paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, at its June meeting in 1907, and published in "Proceedings, 1907, 1908," referring to one of Cotton's publications ("Way of the Churches of Christ in New England"), speaks of the "influence of its cardinal views upon Vane, who, during his stay in Boston, lived for a time under Cotton's roof." It should be stated that Dr. Charles Borgeaud, to whose "Rise of Modern Democracy in England and New England," Mr. Mead refers for authority for this statement, makes no allusion whatever to any influence, real or supposed, which Cotton had on Vane.

We know Vane and his views of religious liberty at the time when he was Cotton's guest, which not only led him to befriend and plead for the rights of Mrs. Hutchinson, but found expression in his dispute with Gov. Winthrop, and his earnest protests against all laws of exclusion or persecution because of religious differences, as well as in his whole subsequent career; and we know Cotton and his views, which found expression in his numerous publications, as well as in his well-known conduct. Though Cotton was twenty-seven years older than his guest, Vane far outstripped his host in his clearly defined principles of the rights of conscience, and was able to give lessons to the teacher of the Boston Church. This he undoubtedly did, though the Puritan teacher was unwilling or too old to learn them.

It was Cotton who boldly affirmed that "toleration made the world anti-Christian," and should therefore be religiously avoided and prohibited, who approved the banishment of Roger Williams, saying afterwards with a heartless facetiousness that "it was not banish-

ment, but enlargement;" who carried on the famous published controversy with Williams, in which he showed that he had never learned the alphabet of religious liberty, much less been a preceptor in that branch of knowledge; and who inhumanly justified the persecution of the Rhode Island worthies, Clarke and Holmes, in the famous reply which he and Wilson sent to Saltonstall. Moreover, his conception of democracy appears in the following language:

"Democracy I do not conceyve that ever God did ordeyne as a fitt government eyther for church or commonwealth. . . . As for monarchy and aristocracy, they are both of them clearly approved, and directed in Scripture, yet so as God referreth the sovereigntie to himself, and setteth up Theocracy in both, as the best form of government."

It should be added that after Vane returned to England, Cotton, who had stood with him in the defence of Mrs. Hutchinson, went back on himself, publicly professed his penitence with many tears, declared that he had been made "her stalking horse," and not only abandoned

the poor woman to her enemies, but zealously engaged in confuting her "heresies," and himself delivered the verdict of the church, and "pronounced the sentence of admonition with great solemnity, and with much zeal and detestation of her errors and pride of spirit." John S. Barry ("History of Massachusetts, First Period," p. 259) says:

"This was the unkindest cut of all! This blow staggered her! And the unhappy woman, baited and worried by her clerical tormentors, "pumped and sifted to get something against her," stigmatized as "the American Jezebel," cast out of the church, spit upon, and defied as it were, scarce knew what she said; and failing to give satisfaction to those whom nothing probably would now have made lenient, was excommunicated in due form."

Brooks Adams, commenting on this distressing affair ("The Emancipation of Massachusetts," p. 60), says:

"Vane sailed early in August, and his departure cleared the last barrier from the way of vengeance. . . . Cotton hastened to make

his peace by a submission, which Rev. Mr. Hubbard of Ipswich describes with unconscious cynicism: "If he were not convinced, yet he was persuaded to an amicable compliance with the other ministers; . . . for although it was thought he did still retain his own sense and enjoy his own apprehension in all or most of the things then controverted (as is manifest by some expressions of his since that time published) yet by that means did that reverend and worthy minister of the gospel recover his former splendour throughout New England."

S. G. Arnold, ("History of Rhode Island," Vol. I., p. 68), explains Cotton's conduct as follows:—"When the powerful influence of Vane was thus withdrawn, Cotton made good his reconciliation with his offended colleagues, and still appeared as the devoted servant of the people."

It looks very much as if Cotton's momentary liberalism in joining hands with Vane in the defence of Mrs. Hutchinson was the effect of the young Governor's presence and influence upon

him, and that after Vane had departed he fell back in a most humiliating manner, and with ostentatious penitence, which must be regretted by every one, into his former narrowness and an intenser opposition to the principle of religious liberty. The facts do not appear to justify the claim that Cotton was in any sense the preceptor of Vane. In those days, and in that community, the younger man, who was of noble family and was generally welcomed with enthusiasm by the Massachusetts Colonists on his arrival, and in a few short months was elected Governor of the colony, who held advanced views, and possessed withal a striking personality, would inevitably be listened to with respect, and would easily be exalted, in spite of difference in age, to the preceptor's chair.

The paragraphs above appeared as an article in "The Nation" April 8, 1909. Mr. Mead in his courteous explanation in "The Nation" May 13, said, "With Mr. King's observations upon the relative merits and influence of Cotton and Vane as concerning toleration, I should not be disposed to take issue." Yet in the matter

of church polity, of Independency in church government, a very much less important matter, he is still of the opinion that Cotton's relation to Vane warrants his being called his "preceptor." He refers to J. Wingate Thornton and Dr. James K. Hosmer in confirmation of his opinion. A careful study of the religious conditions in New England and Old England at that time, and a proper consideration of the meaning and application of Independency, as well as of the known views of both Cotton and Vane, will show how little basis there is for the opinion that Vane was influenced by Cotton even in this minor matter.

J. Wingate Thornton ("The Historical Relation of New England to the English Commonwealth"), seeking to establish the influential relation of the Massachusetts Puritans to the leaders of the English Commonwealth, thinks that Vane was a principal channel of that influence, and goes so far as to assert that "Vane was trained in Cotton's study." Dr. J. K. Hosmer ("Life of Sir Henry Vane") says, "This is scarcely too much to

say," and gives a beautiful imaginary picture of the relation of the two men, when Vane was Cotton's guest. No evidence of this training and education is brought forward. It seems to be a pure conjecture, without any substantial proof, from the fact of Vane's residence in Cotton's home. From what we know of the two men, the probabilities are all against the reasonableness of the conjecture. We know that Vane could teach Cotton on the subject of religious toleration; why not also on the subject of church independency and polity, of true democracy in church government? In those days the two subjects seemed to be indissolubly connected.

We have no means of knowing how definite and fully ripened Vane's views were when he arrived in Boston. Edwin D. Mead says: "When he came to Boston to live with John Cotton he was not an Independent, and when he went back to England he was. The inference would seem to be simple," that is, as to the fact of his training under Cotton. Perhaps not so simple, after all. It might be replied:

neither was Cotton an Independent when Vane came to Boston, and more than that, he never became one, and was hardly qualified to be a sympathetic and successful teacher. So far as we have any knowledge, Vane was an Independent in sentiment when he reached New England, and his experience here simply confirmed him in views already accepted, instead of teaching him new and broader views which his supposed teacher never accepted. His "training in Cotton's study" was of the kind that establishes the views which are not taught; that is, a teaching by repulsion. It is made certain by abundant testimony that Vane was an outspoken and fully ripened Independent at once when he returned to England. He was elected to Parliament in 1640, and immediately, says Dr. Ireland, "the leaders of the Independent party in the Commons were the younger Vane and Oliver St. John." Baillie, speaking of the Parliamentary discussions at that time, praises naturally the orators on the Presbyterian side, that is, those who declaimed in defence of the narrow polity

and intolerance of the Presbyterians, and adds significantly, "Yet Henry Vane went on violently," on the side of the Independents.

It ought not to be necessary to repeat what is so well known and universally acknowledged, that Independency in England and Puritanism in Massachusetts Bay were not synonymous. They did not stand for the same things, either in the matter of civil or ecclesiastical polity. Dr. Hosmer says:

"The first hint at Independency is perhaps found in the writings of Zwingle. [A more accurate statement would be in the publications of the Swiss Anabaptists in the sixteenth century.] It *first took form in England*, however; then developed fully in America. [It should be said it was many years in developing.] While Prelacy was dominant in the time of Elizabeth and James, little congregations of Brownists or Separatists appeared here and there in England, some of which went to Holland."

As a proof of the lack of identity between Massachusetts Puritanism and English In-

dependency it will be sufficient to quote Dr. Henry M. Dexter, a recognized authority, who says ("Congregationalism as Seen in its Literature," p. 463):

"The early Congregationalism of this country was Barrowism and not Brownism—a Congregationalized Presbyterianism, or a Presbyterianized Congregationalism—which had its roots in the one system and its branches in the other."

Robert Browne, who broke with the Church of England about the year 1580, enunciated his new views, and founded an Independent Church at Norwich, was, it is claimed, the founder of Independency or Congregationalism. "This system," according to Dr. Dexter (p. 114) that is, Brownism or Separatism, "proved to have vitality enough and enough of adaptation to the demands of human life, to resume and reassert its interrupted sway," [Browne and his little church soon migrated across the channel to Middleberg. Not long after, he returned to England, repudiated his new views, and became again a clergyman in the Church of

England, for the rest of his days. His views, however, found other advocates] "so that although the thought may not be in their minds, the Independents of England and the Congregationalists of America, more nearly than from any other, are to-day in lineal descent from that little Norwich church of two hundred and ninety-six years ago." Dr. Dexter means, of course, the Congregationalists of to-day, and not the Presbyterianized Congregationalists of the first half of the seventeenth century in Boston.

This important distinction between the English Independents of that period and American Independents (?) is clearly brought out by J. A. Doyle ("*The Puritan Colonies*," I, 127):

"To such an one as Vane life in New England must have been a continuous disenchantment. [This is a plain recognition of Vane's advanced position in Independency before he came to New England.] The more cultivated men among the political reformers valued and sympathized with Puritanism. But they

valued it in its moral and political aspects, as a means for the regeneration of the individual, as an ally against corrupt courtiers and arbitrary statesmen, rather than a system of theological dogma. To them the Independent system meant one under which self-constituted societies, freely brought together by common beliefs and aspirations, might work out the problems of spiritual life. In New England it meant the arbitrary rule of a tyrannical public opinion. Moreover, to men familiar with those theories of human rights which were now asserting themselves, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Massachusetts must have seemed a violation of all sound principles."

The same fundamental distinction between Brownism or English Independency and so-called American Independency is recognized and set forth as follows by Prof. Herbert L. Osgood ("*American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*"):

" Not only was it [religious freedom] a fundamental tenet of Robert Browne, but it lay at the basis of true Independency. The Puritans

of Massachusetts were in theory Independents, and had they remained true to the principle upon which their movement began, they must have welcomed the doctrine with which the name of Roger Williams is identified. But largely under the pressure of political necessity, the Massachusetts leaders had from the beginning committed themselves to a limited and Presbyterianized Independency. In order to secure unity and strength they had sacrificed freedom (I, 235).

Finally, the tendency toward democracy in ecclesiastical and civil government was counterbalanced by the necessity for the maintenance of order and authority. The more aristocratic phases of this system were reproduced by the Presbyterians of England and Scotland; the more democratic by Robert Browne and his followers, the Separatists. An intermediate position came to be occupied by the Puritans of New England (I, 203)."

In 1634, the year after Cotton's arrival in Boston, he issued a publication entitled "Questions and Answers Upon Church Government."

This publication was re-issued in 1643. In it Cotton maintained, according to Dr. Dexter (p. 424), "that Christ has committed government partly to the body of the church, but principally to the Presbytery of Ruling Elders." The system of ruling elders was out and out Presbyterianism to that extent. Dr. Dexter declares (p. 699):

"Our historic original New England Congregationalism was a purely Presbyterian polity, only that it was applied to, and stopped short with, the local assembly."

The system was more and more departed from as the years went by, to the regret of prominent leaders. John Wise writing in 1717 ("*A Vindication of the Government of N. E. Churches*," p. 88), "pleads for the old New England way, as he understands and advocates it, with Ruling Elders holding their place."

Of "*The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England*," Cotton's publication, which Mr. Mead thinks had influence on Vane, Dr. Dexter says (p. 434): "In this I think of nothing which requires mention as adding to, or especially

modifying, the views already propounded." The Cambridge Platform distinctly declared, "The term Independent we approve not." Hugh Peters said (1643), "We are much charged with what we own not, viz.: Independency." There were undoubtedly different shades of belief among the churches. It was a time of transition. Some of the leaders, including Cotton, were charged with inconsistent utterances. It is doubtful if among the early New England churches of "the standing order" there were any Independent churches in the English sense or any Congregational Churches in the modern sense anywhere, excepting in the Plymouth Colony. In its ripest stage for many years it was, to repeat Dr. Dexter's accurate phrase, "Presbyterianized Congregationalism." Dr. E. H. Byington says ("*The Puritan in England and New England*," p. 108):

"The present Congregationalism is much nearer that of the Plymouth Church than that of the Cambridge Platform."

Under that Platform churches bearing the

name Presbyterian, though of the Congregational sort, were organized for a century and more. An illustration is found in Providence, R. I. The First Congregational (now Unitarian) Society in Providence, organized as late as 1720, was called Presbyterian. In a discourse on the history of the church, delivered in 1836, by the pastor, Rev. Edward B. Hall, occur these words:

"The first name given to this Society, Presbyterian, I know not how to explain. It is found in the earliest records and deeds, and was long the popular, if not the only, name. * * * It is still better known probably, at least to those in this vicinity, than any other name."

The land on which the first house of worship was erected, was conveyed in 1723 to "Feoffees in trust for the Presbyterian or Congregational Society in Providence." The terms were employed interchangeably or as mutually descriptive. This was true of the two succeeding Congregational churches in Providence.

No fact in history is more incontrovertible

than that the Independency of England was more advanced, and more consistent than the Congregationalism of New England. The extent of its diffusion is often underestimated. The Brownists or Separatists, and the Baptists were in harmony in their views of religious liberty and of church polity. They were all Independents or Congregationalists. The Independents did not become a political party until near the close of the first third of the seventeenth century. But they had long been a positive and increasing force to be reckoned with among the religious forces of the English people, and were so active and aggressive, in spite of bitter and persistent persecution, that they had not a little to do in bringing about the English Commonwealth. They were strong enough and numerous enough to become the dominant party in England under Cromwell. Fifty-five years had passed between Browne's movement at Norwich, and the emigration of Vane, and Browne's priority is disputed by some Baptist historians. A half-century and more is ample time for a harvest, when the

soil is ready. It is stated by an opponent that the presses of the Baptists "did groan and sweat under the load of their publications," which scattered everywhere their leavening influence. Green, in his "Short History of the English People," calls attention to the fact that "at the beginning of the seventeenth century scores of Independent congregations existed in England and Wales." Thomas Erskine May ("*Constitutional History of England*" II, 296) says: "Before the death of Elizabeth (1603) the Independents had spread themselves widely through the country." Sir Walter Raleigh declared in Parliament, before the close of the sixteenth century, that "he was afraid that there were nearly twenty thousand Brownists in England." Evidently "the New England Way," so-called, was not a new way in old England, unless its modification made it such. Vane had a thousand better qualified teachers at home, and it is safe to say, had learned his lesson well, so that he had little need of Cotton as "preceptor" during his brief experience in

Boston. This will easily account for the fact which Mr. Mead, who nevertheless advocates the claim for Cotton, acknowledges, when he says: "It is also certain that the learner advanced far beyond the [supposed] teacher." At any rate, we must accept Cotton's own testimony as to the position he held, viz.: "Democrary I do not conceyve that ever God did ordeyne as a fitt government eyther for church or commonwealth." Dr. Hosmer confesses that "For democracy in church or state Cotton never had a kind word."

APPENDIX B.

Contemporary Appreciations of Vane.

"In fine, seeing himself on all hands in an evil case, he [Vane] resolved for New England. In order to this, striking in with some Non-Conformists which intended that way, his honorable birth, long hair and other circumstances of his person rendered his fellow-travellers jealous of him, as a spy to betray their liberty, rather than in any way like to advantage their design. But he that they thought at first to have too little of Christ for their company, did soon after appear to have too much for them. For he had not been long in New England, but he ripened into more knowledge and experience of Christ than the churches there could bear the testimony of. Even New England could not bear all his words, though there was there no King's Court or King's Chapel.—Amos 7: 13, 14."

George Sikes, "*The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane, K^t &c*" p. 8 (printed in the year 1662).

"Then he [Vane] returns for Old England. Shortly after, the leading and preparatory passages to the Long Parliament and the late public changes drew on. From the beginning of that Parliament he became such a drudge for his country, so willing on all accounts, both in person and estate, to spend and be spent (in his chargeable circumstances and unwearied endeavors for the public good and just liberties of men as men, as also for the advance of the Kingdom of Christ in these nations) as I know not any former age or story can parallel."

George Sikes, "*The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane, K^t &c*" p. 8.

"This lover of his nation and asserter of the just rights and liberties thereof unto his death, was also for limiting the civil power, delegated by the people to their Trustees in the Supreme Court of Parliament or to any Magistrates whatsoever. He held that *there*

are certain fundamental rights and liberties of the nation that carry such a universal and undeniable consonancy with the light of nature, right reason and the law of God, that they are in no wise to be abrogated or altered, but preserved. What less than this can secure people's lives, liberties and birth-rights, declared in MAGNA CHARTA, and ratified by two and thirty Parliaments since?"

George Sikes, "*The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane, Kt*" p. 98.

"This worthy patriot was freely chosen, without any seeking of his, to serve as burgess for the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, in that Parliament, which sat down November 3, 1640. About thirteen years did he indefatigably labor therein for his country's relief, against manifest oppressions and public grievances that were upon it. And well nigh ten years more he hath patiently suffered as a useless or pernicious person because of his destructive constitution to the peace and interest of tyranny. During the Long Parliament he was usually so engaged for the public, in the House and several com-

mittees, from early in the morning to very late at night, that he had scarce any leisure to eat his bread, converse with his nearest relations, or at all to mind his family affairs."

George Sikes, "*The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane, K^t*" p. 105.

"Sir Harry Vane was one of the commissioners, and therefore the others need not be named, since he was all in any business where others were joined with him. He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, a great understanding, which pierced into and discerned the purposes of other men with wonderful sagacity; whilst he had himself *vultum clausum*, that no man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to Mr. Hampden, he was inferior to no other man, in all mysterious artifices. There need no more be said of his ability than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole

nation, which excel in craft and cunning; which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people that could not otherwise be prevailed upon than by advancing their idol presbytery, to sacrifice their peace, their interest and their faith, to the erecting a power and authority that resolved to persecute presbytery to an extirpation; and very near brought their purpose to pass." (This is Lord Clarendon's account of Vane's success in securing the adoption of "The Solemn League and Covenant," in which he eulogises Vane's genius, and falsely impugns the character of his motives and methods.)

"In November, 1640, again elected for the borough of Kingston-upon-Hull, Sir Henry Vane the younger sat down at Westminster, a member of the ever-memorable Long Parliament. From that instant his course was plain, and never swerved from. "In the beginning of the great Parliament," says one who had watched him well, the honest and able Ludlow, "he was elected to serve his country

among them, without the least application on his part to that end. And in this station, he soon made appear how capable he was of managing great affairs, possessing in the highest perfection a quick and ready apprehension, a strong and tenacious memory, a profound and penetrating judgment, a just and noble eloquence, with an easy and graceful manner of speaking. To these were added a singular zeal and affection for the good of the Commonwealth, and a resolution and courage not to be shaken or diverted from the public service."

Quoted from Forster's "*Statesmen of the Commonwealth.*"

"I have, madam, whilst I own a love to my country, a deep interest in the public loss, which so many worthy persons lament. The world is robbed of an unparalleled example of virtue and piety. His great abilities made his enemies persuade themselves that all the revolutions in the last age were wrought by his influence, as if the world were only moved by his engine. In him they lodged all the dying

hopes of his party. There was no opportunity that he did not improve for the advantage of his country, and when he was in his last and much deplored scene, he strove to make the people in love with that freedom they had so lavishly and foolishly thrown away. He was great in all his actions, but to me he seemed greatest in his sufferings, when his enemies seemed to fear that he alone should be able to acquaint them with a change of fortune. In his lowest condition you have seen him the terror of a great prince, strengthened by many potent confederates and armies; you have seen him live in high estimation and honour, and certainly he died with it. Men arrive at honours by several ways. The martyrs, though they wanted the glittering crowns the princes in those ages dispensed, have rich ones in every just man's esteem. Virtue, though unfortunate, shines in spite of all its enemies; nor is it in any power to deface those lasting monuments your friend hath raised of his, in every heart that either knew him, or held any intelligence with fame." (Extract from a letter

from a person of noble birth to a relative of Vane about a week after the execution.)

"Tell me, my Friend, how did he wield his glittering flaming sword? Did not it behave itself valiantly, conquering and turning every way to preserve the way of truth, liberty, Righteousness, and the cause of the Lord and his people? Was not his whole armor very rich? Was it not all from the sanctuary, for beauty and strength? Oh, mighty man of valor! thou champion for the Lord and His host, when they were defied! How hast thou spoiled them! The Goliah is trodden under foot. The whole army of the Philistines fly. Is he fled? Is he gone from amongst men? Was not this earth, this kingdom worthy of him? Wast thou upon the top of the Mount of Olives with him, to see how he was lifted up, glorified, advanced? Didst thou see him ascend, and chariots and heavenly hosts, the glorious train accompanying him to his chamber, to the palace of the great King, whither he is gone, we gazing below after him? But will he not come again? Will not the Lord, his

Bridegroom, bring him, when he shall come to reign, and his saints with him? Make ready then, my friend. Gird up thy loins. Ride through gloriously, for the day is a great day of battle. And he that overcometh shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the Prophets, the Apostles, and our late Friend Vane, in the kingdom of Heaven, whither I shall ever long to be prepared to set forward with the first, and to meet thee, Friend, ascending into the heavenly place." (Extract from a letter from a friend out of the country to one who accompanied Sir Henry Vane to the scaffold.)

APPENDIX C.

Additional Modern Appreciations of Vane.

"The most distinguished personage who arrived at this time was Henry Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane the younger, the heir of one of the most powerful noblemen of England, and, "a young gentleman of excellent parts," whose accession was hailed as an omen of good. He had long been desirous of visiting America, and had only been prevented by the prohibition of his father, who yielded to the commands of King Charles, and suffered him to depart."

John S. Barry, "*History of Massachusetts*," *First Period, p.* 207.

"It was a period of intense and violent excitement. Popular controversies had preceded his arrival; and to the pressure of external aggressions, were added internal commotions of by no means a trifling nature.

Faction and intrigue were rearing their hydra-heads in direst strife. Extraordinary religious dissensions were on the eve of convulsing society to its centre. With the genius of the people he was little acquainted; nor was he imbued with the prejudices which their situation engendered. Some of the principal persons, jealous of the enthusiasm with which he was received, and of his interventions to heal the distractions of the Commonwealth, (see Winthrop I. 211–214) looked upon him with coldness and mistrust. And, 'more for things than persons, spirit then forms,' and owning and cherishing goodness everywhere, the liberality of his heart, which refused to be tied down to all the formalities of the age, was little in unison with the cynical moroseness of a portion of the clergy. Hence the day on which he was invested with the purple of magistracy, saw a formidable opposition organized against him, determined to embarrass his government at every step; and so well did his antagonists succeed in involving himself personally in difficulties, and his most intimate friends in

hopeless and inextricable confusion, that his administration was brief and stormy; and by the trials he encountered he was painfully convinced of his mistake in accepting an office, which, under other and more favorable auspices, there can be no doubt he would have filled as acceptably and as successfully as either of his predecessors."

John S. Barry, "*History of Massachusetts*," *First Period*, *pp.* 209, 210.

"But twenty-four years of age at this time, his was indeed a remarkable character. . . He was a man, and had doubtless the failings of a man. Yet the gravity of his deportment, the calm and contemplative composure of his countenance, the complete control which he had gained over his passions, with his deep penetration, and his intuitive discernment of the characters and purposes of others, by even Clarendon are noted as extraordinary qualities, rendering him, if not the superior, at least the equal of Hampden; and his profound theological attainments, the purity of his mind, his easy and graceful eloquence, and the brilliance

of his genius, won for him the warmest eulogiums of the gifted Milton, who is lavish of his encomiums upon the young champion of liberty. Dark dissimulation was no attribute of his nature. Whatever of enthusiasm he possessed, it was tinged with no fanaticism; stained with no hypocricy; nor did it precipitate him into injudicious measures, or sanguinary excesses, but added new luster to his acquired abilities, new powers to his natural sagacity; and to the latest hour of his life, amid the wreck of his fortune and the treachery of his associates, . . . never for a moment did he swerve from his principles, but prepared himself for his fate with heroic and even smiling intrepidity."

John S. Barry, "*History of Massachusetts*," *First Period, p.* 208.

"In every great measure of the Commons the name of the younger Vane now prominently appears; and pending the trial of Strafford, he had carried up the impeachment which disabled the power of Laud, the once terrible enemy of toleration. In all matters of re-

ligious reform he more especially distinguished himself; he was one of the greatest supporters of the famous 'root and branch' petition against prelacy; in the committee of which Hyde was chairman he spoke with masterly effect in favor of the bill against episcopal government; and when the famous Assembly of Divines assembled at Westminster, to deliberate on the state of the Church, and the interests of religion, being requested by the House of Commons, to take upon himself the duty of one of its lay members, he rendered himself conspicuously eminent in the consultations of that most grave and learned body; not only by his theological attainments, but by the singular subtlety and skill with which he addressed them to the loftier purposes of government; and in the faith of those opinions . . . he sought to impress upon his more sectarian colleagues the necessity of associating with the popular principle in civil affairs an extreme and universal toleration of religious differences."

John Forster, "*Statesmen of the Commonwealth*," *p.* 282.

"When he retired for a time from public life, in disgust at the usurpation of Cromwell, he occupied his leisure with religious and political writing. In politics he wrote with the clear and impressive reason, the simple and masterful style of a consummate statesman. In religion he indulged occasionally those wild and visionary thoughts which have seldom failed to visit all strong and fervent spirits of the earth, when they have flung themselves passionately into the profounder questions of man's existence and destiny."

John Forster, "*Statesmen of the Commonwealth*," *p.* 287.

"A theoretical republican Vane was not, if it is attempted to be shown by this that the motive of his public exertions was merely a preconceived idea of the abstract excellence of that form of civil society. What Vane sought was good and popular government, extensive representation, freedom of thought, freedom of the press, and perfect liberty of conscience.

Because he could not find these under a Monarchy, he became a republican."

John Forster, "*Statesmen of the Commonwealth*," *p.* 300.

"Vane comprehended the principles of civil and religious liberty. He understood them thoroughly, and when still scarcely more than a youth, defended them with an ingenuity, force, and felicity of illustration, particularly from the Scriptures, which will not suffer by comparison with anything that has since been done in the same great cause. He well deserves a place in that illustrious company, who have taken the lead, in modern times, in asserting the rights of conscience, and in vindicating the principles of Christian liberty. He was contemporaneous with ROGER WILLIAMS, and was followed by JOHN MILTON, WILLIAM PENN, and JOHN LOCKE. Not one of them grasped the subject more completely than he did; and when we consider that he was zealously engaged in religious discussions, and enthusiastically devoted to what he thought the truth, we can hardly hesitate to yield to him

the glorious distinction of having to a degree that was never surpassed, if ever equalled, comprehended in theory, and developed in practice throughout his whole life the sacred principles of Christian toleration and religious liberty.

As writers and as statesmen, Vane and Williams seem to deserve the glory of the earliest promulgation of the principles of toleration. They understood them, in their whole extent, as applicable not only to Christians, but to all men of whatever religion."

Charles W. Upham's "*Life of Sir Henry Vane*," pp. 69, 70.

"At the same time came Henry Vane, the younger, a man of the purest mind; a statesman of spotless integrity; whose name the progress of intelligence and liberty will erase from the rubric of fanatics and traitors, and insert high among the aspirants after truth and the martyrs for liberty. . . . He was happy in the possession of an admirable genius, though naturally more inclined to contemplative excellence than to action; he

was happy in the eulogist of his virtues, for Milton, ever so parsimonious of praise, reserving the majesty of his verse to celebrate the glories and vindicate the providence of God, was lavish of his encomiums on the youthful friend of religious liberty. But Vane was still more happy in attaining early in life a firmly settled theory of morals, and in possessing an energetic will, which made all his conduct to the very last conform to the doctrines he had espoused, turning his dying hour into a seal of the witness, which his life had ever borne with noble consistency, to the freedom of conscience and the people."

Bancroft's "*History of the United States,*" Vol. I., p. 383.

"Now that all England was carried away with eagerness for monarchy, Sir Henry Vane, the former Governor of Massachusetts, the benefactor of Rhode Island, the ever-faithful friend of New England, adhered with undaunted firmness to the glorious cause of popular liberty; and shunned by every man who courted the returning monarch, he became

noted for the most 'catholic' unpopularity. He fell from the affections of the English people, when the English people fell from the jealous care of their liberties. He had ever been incorrupt and disinterested, merciful, and liberal. When Unitarianism was persecuted, not as a sect, but as a blasphemy, Vane interceded for its advocate; he pleaded for the liberty of the Quakers imprisoned for their opinions; as a legislator he demanded justice in behalf of the Roman Catholics; he resisted the sale of Penruddoc's men into slavery, as an aggression on the rights of man. The immense emoluments of his office as treasurer of the navy he voluntarily resigned. When the Presbyterians, though his adversaries, were forcibly excluded from the House of Commons, he also absented himself. When the Monarchy was overthrown, and a Commonwealth attempted, Vane reluctantly filled a seat in the Council, and resuming his place as a legislator, amidst the floating wrecks of the English constitution, he clung to the existing Parliament as to the only fragment on which it was possible to rescue

English liberty. His energy gave to the English navy its efficient organization; if England could cope with Holland on the sea, the glory of preparation is Vane's. His labors in that remnant of a Parliament were immediately turned to the purification of liberty at its sources; and he is believed to have anticipated every great principle of the modern reform bill. He steadily resisted the usurpation of Cromwell; as he had a right to esteem the sorrows of his country his private sorrows, he declared it no small grief that the evil and wretched principles of absolute monarchy should be revived by men professing godliness, and Cromwell, unable to intimidate him, confined him to Carisbrook Castle. Both Cromwell and Vane were unsuccessful statesmen; the first desired to secure the government of England to his family, the other to vindicate it for the people."

Bancroft's "*History of the United States*," Vol. II, pp. 36–38.

"At the election in May, John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley were chosen councillors for life.

But the young Henry Vane was at the same time elected Governor of Massachusetts—a signal proof of the influence and importance he had so rapidly acquired in the Colony. Winthrop, who accepted the Deputy Governorship under him, says of him in his journal on this occasion: 'Because he was son and heir to a privy councillor in England, the ships congratulated his election with a volley of great shot.' But Vane had ability and enterprise enough to have secured an ultimate success and celebrity, as well as salutes of 'great shot,' without the aid of any mere family prestige. His administration, however, was destined to be disturbed by a violence of religious and civil controversy which has never been exceeded on the same soil, if indeed, on any soil beneath the sun."

Robert C. Winthrop, "*Memorial History of Boston,*" Vol. I., pp. 125–126.

"From the day when scarcely more than a boy he defended Anne Hutchinson in Massachusetts, to the day when yet in his full strength he serenely laid his head upon the block on Tower-hill by command of Charles II,

he consecrated the whole force of extraordinary powers to the expounding and vindication of what he held to be English freedom, overlaid by accretions which were in reality foreign to it. If the principles for which he lived and died are examined, it will be found that they are no less precious to Americans than to Englishmen. 'Government of the people, by the people, and for the people,' the famous sentence of Abraham Lincoln's Gettsyburg address, was also the fundamental thought with young Sir Henry Vane.

One by one England has adopted and is adopting the reforms which he proclaimed to be necessary in order that the State should rest upon the substructure fitted for it—the extension of the suffrage, the transformation of the Upper House, the disestablishment of the Church—the doing away with every privilege of faith and class that stands in the path of toleration and fair equality—the utter committing of power to the hands of the people assembled in their representatives in the great national Council. As in England and her de-

pendencies the power of the people grows, a process which we see going forward without break, that noble Commonwealth becomes more and more manifest which Vane prematurely tried and died to bring to pass. For and in England he struggled, when America was scarcely in embryo, but no statesman more soundly American can be named than he."

James K. Hosmer's "*Young Sir Henry Vane*," pp. 567, 568.

"Vane was one of the noblest characters of his age, though 'the subject of widely differing judgments.'"

Sanford H. Cobb, "*The Rise of Religious Liberty in America*," p. 190.

"By far the most advanced man of his time was Sir Henry Vane. He had suffered somewhat from the intolerance of Massachusetts, and returning to England, had thrown his energies into the struggle against the king. But whether from king or commonwealth, he did not approve of interference with religion. In 1656 he published *A Healing Question*, in which he took the ground that 'the magistrate

had no right to go beyond matters of outward practice, converse, and dealings in the things of this life between man and man.' In this same essay he also maintained that the army should be subject to Parliament, for which he was haled before Cromwell and thrown into prison."

"*The Rise of Religious Liberty in America*," p. 60, by Sanford H. Cobb.

"Vane's American career has been harshly judged by American historians. He made many mistakes, but the greatest mistake was that made by the Colonists themselves, when out of deference to birth and rank, they set a young and inexperienced stranger to deal with problems which tasked the wisdom of their ablest heads. Subsequently, however, his connection with New England became an advantage to the Colonies, and in 1645, Massachusetts merchants in difficulties with the English government found him a strong help."

C. H. Firth in "*Dictionary of National Biography.*"

"It is impossible to suppose that the Scottish commissioners were simply outwitted by Vane; they accepted the amendment because they hoped to interpret it according to their own wishes, through the political and military influence the alliance gave them."

C. H. Firth in "*Dictionary of National Biography*," cf. with Lord Clarendon's interpretation of Vane's conduct, p. 156.

"In the question whether the republic should have an established Church or not, Vane and Cromwell took opposite sides. The proposals of Owen and other Independent ministers to the committee for the propagation of the gospel, which Cromwell carried out in the ecclesiastical organization of the Protectorate were absolutely contrary to Vane's principles."

C. H. Firth in "*Dictionary of National Biography*."

"Vane, who was one of the few men of the time who really understood and believed in the principles of civil and religious liberty, and had a horror of all forms of bigotry, had no sympathy with the attacks of the clergy on

Mrs. Hutchinson, with many of whose opinions he entirely agreed. A strong opposition under the lead of Winthrop was organized against him, and on the day of the annual election, in 1637, he was defeated. But he had gained the affections of the people of Boston, and was instantly chosen by them one of their representatives to the General Court. . . . In order to put down the Hutchinsonian heresy, a law was passed by the General Court, that no strangers should be received within the jurisdiction of the Colony except such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates. This created such public discontent that Governor Winthrop felt obliged to put forward a 'Defence,' to which Vane immediately replied.

. . . . . .

From first to last he remained an inflexible republican. After the death of Cromwell he was elected to the Parliament of 1659, and was there the leader of the republican party. When the Long Parliament was again summoned to assemble, Vane was appointed one of the Committee of Safety, and subsequently

President of the Council of State. The restoration of the King led to his disgrace and death.

. . . . . .

He was a leader of the Independents, and was one of the lay members nominated by Parliament to take part in the proceedings and discussions of the Assembly of divines. His labors in behalf of New England were arduous and important. It was in great measure through his influence that the charter for the Rhode Island Colony was procured, and Roger Williams declared that his name ought to be held in honored remembrance by her people." —"*The New American Cyclopædia.*"

"He was sent to France and Geneva. Here he no doubt acquired the strongly Puritan views for which he had been prepared by a remarkable change of mind when quite a boy. In spite of the personal efforts of Laud, who made the attempt at the King's request, he refused to give them up, and fell especially under the influence of Pym. In 1635, he emigrated to Massachusetts, where he was elected Governor in 1636, though only twenty-

four years of age. After two (?) years in office, during which he showed striking administrative ability, he was defeated by Winthrop, the former Governor, chiefly on account of the protection he had given to Mrs. Hutchinson in the religious controversies which she raised. Vane returned to England in August, 1637. Being elected to the Short Parliament for Kingston-upon-Hull, he speedily became a leader of the Independents and a marked man.

. . . . . .

He was, in fact, foremost in all the doings of the Long Parliament. When the war broke out he surrendered his office of treasurer of the navy, but was replaced in it by the Parliament. Hereupon he gave a rare example of disinterestedness by relinquishing all the profits of the office, stated at £30,000 a year, stipulating only that £1,000 should be paid to a Deputy. In August, 1642, he was on the Committee of Defence. In 1643, he was the leading man among the commissioners sent to treat for a league with the Scots. Vane, who was bitterly opposed to the tyranny of the Presbyterian

system, was successful in two important points. The aim of the Scots was chiefly the propagation of their discipline in England and Wales, and for this they wanted only a 'covenant.' Vane succeeded in getting the bond termed 'The Solemn League and Covenant,' and further in substituting the expression '*according to the word of God* and the example of the best Reformed churches,' for the latter phrase alone. In the Westminster Assembly, too, he joined Cromwell in insisting upon full religious liberty, and in opposing the view that the taking of the Covenant should be necessary for ordination."—"*The Encyclopædia Britannica*," Ninth Edition.

"In summing up the character of Henry Vane we may use the words of an ancient historian: *Vir supra humanam potentiam magnitudine animi praeditus.* In portraying a character one looks for some faults, as an artist requires shading for his picture. Yet, throughout his whole career, nowhere have we found thought or action which needed to be excused or stated in a guarded form. One

knows not whether most to admire the correctness of his political judgments, his largeness of view with his grasp of details, his triumph over the temptations which beset his rough path, his humanity and his toleration. Having devoted his life to the good of his country, and to the cause of liberty, his personality seems lost in the great events of his time. His religious views in no way dimmed his charity or impeded his activity, while they strengthened the earnest tone of his mind, and gave a firmness to his character, which, as some thought, he did not naturally possess."—Wm. W. Ireland's "*The Life of Sir Henry Vane*," p. 496.

APPENDIX D.

John Winthrop and Sir Henry Vane, Jr.

Charles Francis Adams ("*Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*"), though utterly misinterpreting the conduct of Vane while Governor of Massachusetts, as other historians have done, makes the following comparison between him and Winthrop: "In the Massachusetts of 1637, there was nothing but the clergy. Vane was the popular leader in the first movement against their supremacy, and the fight he made showed he possessed parliamentary qualities of a high order; but, as was apparent in the result of it, the movement itself was premature. . . . As compared with Winthrop, the younger Vane was a man of larger and more active mind, of more varied and brilliant qualities. What is now known as an advanced thinker, he instinctively looked deeper into the heart of his subject. Win-

throp, it is true, shared in the darkness and the superstition, and even—in his calm, moderate way—in the intolerance of his time; but it was just that sharing in the weakness as well as the strength—the superstitions as well as the faith—of his time which made him so valuable in the place chance called upon him to fill. . . . In 1637—persecution or no persecution, momentarily right or momentarily wrong—Massachusetts could far better spare Henry Vane from its councils than it could have spared John Winthrop." (Vol. II, pp. 465, 466.) In other words, Winthrop wrong, if only moderately wrong, was a wiser and safer leader for the Massachusetts Colonists than Vane right. The man possessing, *according to Mr. Adams' estimate*, the smaller and less active mind, and less varied and less brilliant qualities, and having a shallower insight into vital principles, and withal chargeable with the darkness and superstition and intolerance of his time, the better man to be at the head of political affairs! Is such logic convincing? Can what followed be said to be

unexpected? We know too well the fate of Mrs. Hutchinson. Mr. Adams continues: "Vane's departure was none the less an irreparable loss, almost a fatal blow, to John Wheelwright, for by it he was deprived of his protector, and left, naked and bound, in the hands of his enemies. Nor did they long delay over the course they would take with him."

APPENDIX E.

The Famous Synod of 1637.

"A synod of the church was called to give ecclesiastical judgment on the heresy [of Mrs. Hutchinson]. This body met at Newtown (Cambridge) in the spring of 1637, and gravely sat itself down to discuss 'eighty-two erroneous opinions' taken from the teachings of Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother. Full liberty of discussion was given, with the curious proviso that 'no one should be held responsible for the opinions he defended unless he acknowledged them to be his own.' The arch heretic and her brother were examined. 'Inquisition was made into men's private judgment, as well as into their declarations and practices.' Cotton acknowledged that most of the 'opinions' were erroneous, but could not condemn all, and drew upon himself the sharp criticism of some of his brethren. . . . After various attempts at compromise he, according to his

nature and manner, got himself down where the chief power lay, with more or less of a wrench to his own convictions.

The synod condemned the heretical opinions, and reported its action to the General Court. This body met shortly after, in May, 1637, at Newtown, 'because of the excitement in Boston,' and proceeded to elect a Governor, putting Winthrop in the room of Vane, and showing to the latter scant courtesy in any attempts he made at defence of his position and conduct. In order to forestall other heretical disturbances, the Court prohibited the harboring of persons whose religious views were considered dangerous. *The bill was opposed by Vane,* to whom Winthrop replied, 'the intent of the law is to preserve the welfare of the body.'" Sanford H. Cobb, "*Rise of Religious Liberty in America,*" pp. 191, 192.

"This oppressive statute caused such discontent that Winthrop thought it necessary to publish a defence, to which *Vane replied* and Winthrop rejoined. The controversy would long since have lost its interest had it not been

for the theory then first advanced by Winthrop, that the corporation of Massachusetts, having bought its land, held it as though it were a private estate, and might exclude whom it pleased therefrom; and ever since this plea has been set up in justification of every excess committed by the theocracy." Brooks Adams, "*The Emancipation of Massachusetts*," p. 58.

"In the case of the Antinomians, the new movement was able to shelter itself under the authority of the younger Vane, then Governor, and for a while under the apparent sanction of the powerful Cotton. But no other religious disturbance was ever allowed to gather head enough, to become dangerous to the peace and unity of the little state. Dislike as we may the principles on which uniformity was enforced, we must admire the forehanded statesmanship of the Massachusetts leaders in strangling religious disturbances at birth, as Pharaoh's midwives did infant Hebrews." (?) Edward Eggleston, "*The Beginners of a Nation*," p. 267.

APPENDIX F.

Vane's Conception of Civil Government, Liberty Regulated by Law and Legislation Confined to Civil Things.

Vane's last effort before Parliament was the reporting a bill for the future and permanent settlement of the government on the basis of his life-long contention. The following were the heads of the bill:

"1. That the supreme power, delegated by the people to their trustees, ought to be in some fundamentals not dispensed with;" that is, that a *constitution* ought to be drawn up and established, specifying the principles by which the successive "trustees" or representatives, assembled under it, should be guided and restrained in the conduct of the government, and clearly stating those particulars in which they would not be permitted to legislate or act.

2. One point, which was to be determined and fixed in this constitution, so that no legislative power should ever be able to alter or move it, was this: "That it is destructive to the people's liberties (to which, by God's blessing, they are fully restored) to admit any earthly king, or single person, to the legislative or executive power over this nation."

3. The only other principle reported as fundamental, and to be placed at the very basis of the constitution, was this, "That the supreme power is not entrusted to the people's trustees to erect matters of faith and worship, so as to exercise compulsion therein." Quoted from John Forster's "*Statesmen of the Commonwealth.*"

APPENDIX G.

Vane's Denial of all Complicity with the Execution of the King.

In his speech at the time of his trial he told his judges:

"When that great violation of privileges happened to the Parliament, so as by force of arms several members thereof were debarred coming into the House and keeping their seats there, this made me forbear to come to the Parliament for the space of ten weeks, to wit., from the 3d of December, 1648, till towards the middle of February following, or to meddle in any public transactions; and during that time the matter most obvious to exception, in way of alteration of the government, did happen. I can, therefore, truly say that I had neither consent nor vote at first in the resolutions of the House, concerning the non-addresses to his late Majesty, so neither had I,

in the least, any consent in or approbation to, his death; but on the contrary, when required by the Parliament to take an oath to give my approbation *ex post facto*, to what was done, I utterly refused, and would not accept of sitting in the Council of State upon those terms, but occasioned a new oath to be drawn, wherein that was omitted."

APPENDIX H.

Vane's Opposition to Cromwell's Usurpation.

Extract from Vane's defence at his trial:

"And I do publicly challenge all persons whatsoever that can give information of any bribes or covert ways used by me, during the whole time of my public acting. Therefore I hope it will be evident to the consciences of the jury that what I have done hath been upon principles of integrity, honour, justice, reason, and conscience, and not as suggested in the indictment by instigation of the devil or want of the fear of God. A second great change that happened upon the constitution of the Parliament, and in them, of the very kingdom itself and the laws thereof, to the plucking up of the liberties of it by the very roots, and the introducing of an arbitrary regal power, under the name of Protector, by force and the law of

the sword, was the usurpation of Cromwell, which I opposed from the beginning to the end, to that degree of suffering, and with that constancy, that well near had cost me not only the loss of my estate, but of my very life, if he might have had his will, which a higher than he hindered; yet I did remain a prisoner, under great hardship, four months, in an island, by his order. Hereby that which I have asserted is most undeniably evident, as to the true grounds and ends of my actions all along, that were against usurpation on the one hand, or such extraordinary actings on the other as I doubted the laws might not warrant or indemnify, unless I were inforced thereunto by an over-ruling and inevitable necessity."

APPENDIX I.

Vane's Estimate of the Cromwells, Father and Son.

When Richard Cromwell, fearing lest Vane's known hostility and powerful influence should prevail against him, resolved to dissolve the Parliament, the House of Commons determined to resist his action, and ordered that the doors be closed against the official messenger of the Protector, and that he be refused admittance. As the House sat behind closed doors, declining to listen to the Protector's summons to meet him in the House of Lords, Vane addressed the speaker in the following words:

"Mr. Speaker—Among all the people of the universe, I know none who have shown so much zeal for the liberty of their country, as the English at this time have done. They have, by the help of divine Providence, overcome all obstacles, and have made themselves

free. We have driven away the hereditary tyranny of the house of Stuart, at the expense of much blood and treasure, in hopes of enjoying hereditary liberty, after having shaken off the yoke of kingship; and there is not a man amongst us, who could have imagined that any person would be so bold as to dare to attempt the ravishing from us that freedom, which cost us so much blood and so much labour. But so it happens, I know not by what misfortune we are fallen into the error of those who poisoned the emperor Titus to make room for Domitian, who made away with Augustus that they might have Tiberius, and changed Claudius into Nero. I am sensible these examples are foreign from my subject, since the Romans in those days were buried in lewdness and luxury; whereas the people of England are now renowned, all over the world, for their great virtue and discipline; and yet suffer an idiot without courage, without sense, nay, without ambition, to have dominion in a country of liberty! One could bear a little with Oliver Cromwell, though, contrary to his oath

of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed that venerable body from whom he received his authority, he usurped the government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgments, our passions, might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most brilliant actions; he had under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had made him their general. But as for Richard Cromwell, his son, who is he? What are his titles? We have seen that he had a sword by his side; but did he ever draw it? And, what is of more importance in this case, is he fit to get obedience from a mighty nation, who could never make a footman obey him? Yet we must recognize this man as our king, under the style of Protector! A man without birth, without courage, without conduct. For my part, I declare, sir, it shall never be said that I made such a man my master."

Richard Cromwell did not again appear in public after this signal defeat. The govern-

ment was administered for a short time in his name, when he formally abdicated. After a brief unsuccessful attempt at a republican administration under a resuscitation of the famous Long Parliament came the restoration of the Monarchy and the execution of Vane, the noble patriot, the fearless champion of the rights of the people, the consistent apostle of human freedom.

APPENDIX J.

Extract from Vane's Final Confession Before his Execution.

"I die in the certain faith and foresight that this cause shall have its resurrection in my death. My blood will be the seed sown, by which this glorious cause will spring up, which God will speedily raise. Then, laying down this earthly tabernacle is no more but throwing down the mantle by which a double portion of the spirit will fall on the rest of God's people. And if by my being offered up the faith of many be confirmed, and others convinced and brought to the knowledge of the truth, how can I desire greater honour and matter of rejoicing. As for that glorious cause which God hath owned in these nations and will own, in which so many righteous souls have lost their lives, and so many have been engaged by my countenance and encouragement, shall I now give it up, and declare them

all rebels and murderers. No, I will never do it; that precious blood shall never lie at my door. As a testimony and seal to the justness of that quarrel, I leave now my life upon it, as a legacy to all the honest interest in these three nations. Ten thousands deaths rather than defile my conscience, the chastity and purity of which I value beyond all this world! I would not for ten thousand lives part with this peace and satisfaction I have in my own heart both in holding to the purity of my principles, and to the righteousness of this good cause; and to the assurance that I have that God is now fulfilling all these great and precious promises, in order to what he is bringing forth. Although I see it not, yet I die in the faith and assured expectation of it."

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